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THE

LIFE AND WORK

OF THE SEVENTH

EARL OF SHAFTESBURY, K.G.

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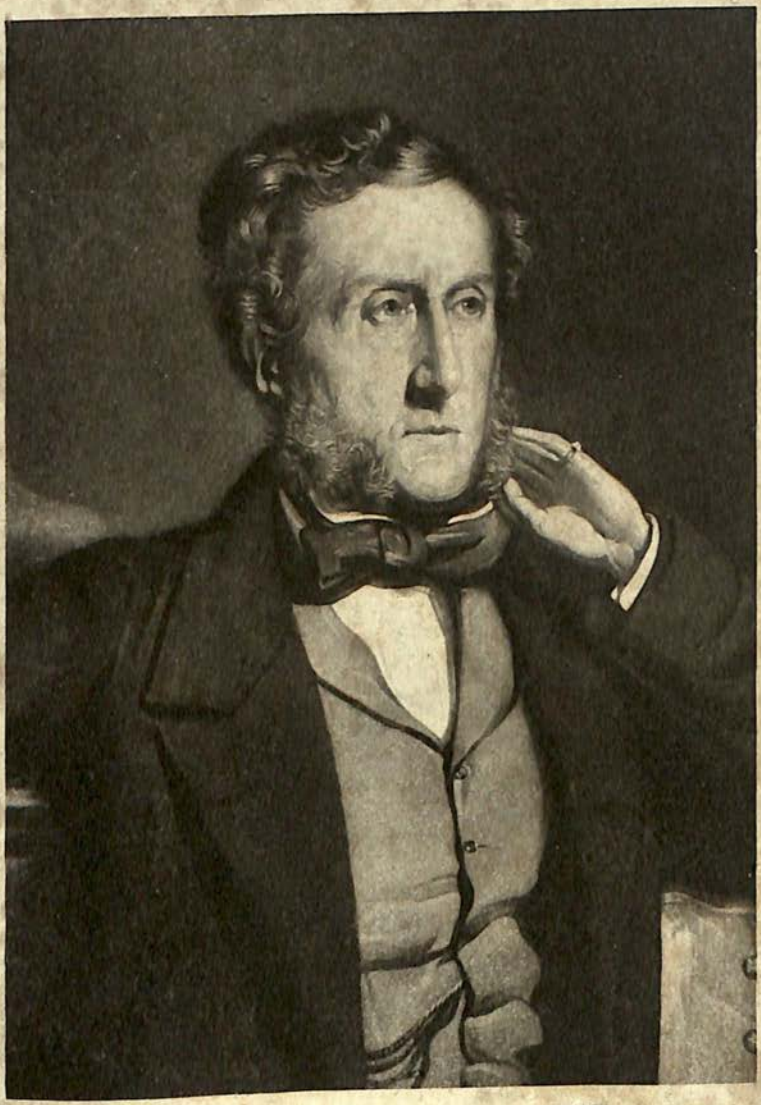

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From the Mezzotint engraving by Scott after the painting by Edgar

THE

LIFE AND WORK

OF THE SEVENTH

EARL OF SHAFTESBURY, K.G.

BY

EDWIN HODDER.

24404

With Portraits.

VOL. III.

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"I HAVE no desire whatever to be recorded, but if, against my will, I must, sooner or later, appear before the public, I should like the reality to be told, be it good or be it bad, and not a sham." So wrote Lord Shaftesbury to the daughter of one of his oldest friends* when the shadows of time were lengthening. When,

* Letter to Mrs. Corsbie, daughter of Mr. Alexander Haldane.

during the last year of his life, it was the privilege of the writer to hear from his lips the story of many of the incidents recorded in these volumes, it was his frequently reiterated wish that no attempt should be made to tone down, or explain away, his "unpopular religious views," as he called them. This wish has, of course, been reverently respected; and if these views have not been made clear throughout the preceding chapters, the writer has failed to depict Lord Shaftesbury.

The narrative is now approaching a period in his career, when he was more than ever to stand in the forefront of religious movements, and to be the Evangelical leader in religious controversy. Moreover, Lord Palmerston was Prime Minister, and his Church appointments were in great measure to be made under the guidance of Lord Shaftesbury. It will be appropriate in this place, therefore, to pause in the narrative, and examine what were his distinctive "unpopular religious views," and what was his position among the Evangelical party. In doing so, we shall confine ourselves, as much as possible, to his own spoken or written words; and it may be remarked here, that in quoting from them, the chronology has been to some extent disregarded, as, from youth to old age, from the commencement of his stewardship until the time when he gave in his account of the same, his theological opinions knew neither variableness nor shadow of turning.

"I am essentially, and from deep-rooted conviction,"

he said to the writer on one occasion, "an Evangelical of the Evangelicals. I have worked with them constantly, and I am satisfied that most of the great philanthropic movements of the century have sprung from them. I stand fast by the teachings held by that party, but I am not, and never have been, a leader of that party."

That was said in 1884. In 1856 he wrote to Mr. Haldane as follows:—

Lord Shaftesbury to Mr. Haldane.

PARIS, *Sept. 9th*, 1856.

DEAR MR. HALDANE, ... You wrote to me the other day, and were kind enough to address me as a 'Leader of the Evangelical Party.' This is a position too perilous, too uncertain, and too useless for any one to accept. No one can be an effective leader unless those who follow him are prepared to repose confidence in his judgment and guidance, not during smooth and easy times alone, but in times of doubt and perplexity. No one in these days has such a sentiment. All confidence has ceased; and people, from a variety of causes, take up their opinions, and let them fall, entirely in reference to themselves or their particular sections. A man that aspires to be a leader, or rather to assume the importance of one, must now either drive or be driven. The first is impossible in the state of men's minds; the second is disgraceful.

Besides, though there are very many points, indeed most points, in which I concur theologically with the Evangelical party, there are some in which, as friends or counsellors, &c., &c., I think several of them very far from charity or justice. Let them catch me tripping (and who can always walk upright?), and there would be as much real spite (though veiled under regret) and pleasure, as among the editors of newspapers or the congregation of Puseyism.

I will do all that in me lies, under God's blessing, to aid their endeavours, advance the good cause, and maintain the simplicity of

'The Truth,' but I will not aspire to 'lead' them, notwithstanding the band of worthy, noble, pure-minded beings to be found in their ranks.

Yours very truly,

S.

Lord Shaftesbury belonged to the older order of Evangelicals — to the Venns, Romaines, Topladys, Berridges, Simeons, Grimshaws, Herveys, Scotts, and Newtons of a former day—to the school represented by Hugh Stowell, Haldane Stuart, Edward Bickersteth, Hugh McNeile, Henry Venn, William Marsh, Alexander Haldane, in his own day.

He believed in the doctrine of the total depravity of the human heart by nature; in the necessity of a "new birth" through the "revelation to each individual soul, by the agency of the Holy Spirit and the Word, of the great saving truths of the Gospel of the grace of God, by which the understanding is spiritually enlightened and the character transformed." He believed in the Christian life as a humble, "continuous trust in the Atoning Blood," a simple faith in Scripture, a constant prayerfulness, and a recognition of the Hand of God in all the events of life.

He ever maintained that the Evangelicals of his day had deteriorated, on the ground that they were not as clear in their views, as distinctive in their principles, or as thorough in their dogmatic teaching, as of old. While acknowledging that there was a great increase in zeal, he believed there was a great decrease of spiritual teaching. "The old standard was lowered, the pure

milk was mixed with water, if not with something more deleterious."

His Protestantism was not political. It was not asserted simply as the source of freedom, the basis of civil and religious liberty: it affected the very springs of his spiritual life.

True Protestantism, in his view, "asserts the right of private judgment; but it asserts, at the same time, the inspiration of the Scriptures; it asserts the all-sufficiency of the Scriptures for man's salvation; asserting, along with it, that except in the belief of those Scriptures, there is no salvation at all; and it labours to effect the unity of the Churches by an unity in Christ, far more than by assailing or defending establishments (mistaking externals for internals), all the combatants getting thereby their share of the nut-shell, but losing the whole of the kernel." *

On the doctrine of Justification by Faith, his trumpet never gave any uncertain sound. He speaks of it as "That grand doctrine, the very life of the Bible and the Keystone of the Reformation," a doctrine which he felt was rapidly on the decline among all classes and degrees of religionists. "The prominence almost universally given to works apart from doctrine," he says, "to deeds of charity and benevolence, to a good life, to philanthropy, so called, to splendour and liberality in sacred things, to 'love of the brethren,' to labour for others, to everything where the notion of merit of one form or another, consciously or unconsciously, can enter

* Lord Shaftesbury's Preface to Life of Luther, by A. L. O. E.

in, marks the spirit of the day, and we shall relapse into the civilisation of Athens and Rome, with much brilliancy and softness of exterior, worshipping heroism, science, commerce, wealth, art, and everything human and superhuman, but the One True God." *

"I hold to the doctrine of Justification by Faith," he said on one occasion to the writer, "and go not only the whole length of Luther, but farther still; I accept the axiom of Doddridge, 'The best act that the best man ever did, contains in it that which is worthy of condemnation'—of course, that is, as measured by the standard of God Himself."

His faith in the Scriptures, the whole Scriptures, and nothing but the Scriptures, was as simple as it was sincere.

"My invariable and invaluable guide was this," he said, on the occasion to which reference has already been made, "never to go in action or belief where the Scriptures would not guide me. This never failed me; and if at any time it brought me where I might have had doubt, I gave the Scripture the benefit of the doubt. For example, there is that question of the Eternity of Punishment, so much discussed now. If I maintain it, I do not wish it. I find it revealed, and must believe that, somehow, it is the just judgment of God—to be explained hereafter, if it cannot be understood now."

Lord Shaftesbury never questioned the inspiration of the Scriptures; his faith was never staggered by the

* Lord Shaftesbury's Preface to Life of Luther, by A. L. O. E.

difficulties involved in the acceptance of the whole of the Bible, from the first chapter of Genesis to the last chapter of Revelation. "What thou knowest not now, thou shalt know hereafter," was a favourite text with him, and he applied it to questions upon which other men's minds were perplexed. For himself, he was content to wait: convinced that for all the things hard to be understood there was an explanation forthcoming, even though it might not come to him.

Speaking at a meeting of the Church Pastoral Aid Society on one occasion, he said:—

> I have heard with my own ears a master in Israel remark in a public assembly, that to say that the Book of Chronicles and the Gospel of St. Luke stood on the same ground of inspiration was to utter an untenable proposition. I say that to make such a declaration is to concede the whole question. Moreover, men contend that one part of the Bible is inspired, and that another is not, or that there are differences in the degrees of inspiration. The whole authority of the Bible is thus cut up from beginning to end. Depend upon it, my friends, that there is no security whatever except in standing upon the faith of our fathers, and saying with them that the blessed old Book is 'God's Word written,' from the very first syllable down to the very last, and from the last back to the first.*

Next to searching the Scriptures, "experimentally, spiritually, dogmatically, for the soul's own good, and as a matter of personal religion, with much retirement and prayer," Lord Shaftesbury considered it was the duty of every one to set forth before the world the one "clear, distinctive, experimental, dogmatic truth, summed up in the word 'Gospel.'" It was his constant

* Church Pastoral Aid Society, May 8, 1862.

lament that clergy and laity alike, were engaged in caring about many things, and forgetting the one thing needful—"the Divinity of Christ, His Atoning Sacrifice, and His Coming Kingdom." It was a frequent saying of his that "the offence of the Cross has not ceased;" and he urged at all times—in the midst of threatened dismemberments and disruptions, of disturbances of heart and feeling, of strange and novel theories—the great duty of all to "know nothing among men save Jesus Christ, and Him crucified."

Thus, when speaking of the distracted state of the Church, he exhorts the clergy to make these truths continually the burden of their preaching.

For my own part, I believe that the sole remedy is one of the simplest and one of the oldest; not amusements for the people, or a system of secular education, or this thing and another, that are suggested; the sole, the sovereign remedy, in my opinion, is to do what we can to evangelise the people by preaching on every occasion and in every place, in the grandest cathedral and at the corner of the street, in the royal palace and in the back slums, preaching Christ to the people, determined, like St. Paul, to 'know nothing among men save Jesus Christ, and Him crucified.' I do believe that the preaching Christ is still the power of God unto salvation. It may, indeed, have ceased to produce its proper effect upon the generation in which we live; but why? Because in many of the pulpits—not of the Church of England only, but of many Nonconformists—preaching gives so uncertain a sound; preachers refrain so completely from dogmatic teaching. It is because so many of the sermons preached in these days, instead of setting forth the Gospel in its simple yet majestic power, are mere essays: milk-and-water dilutions of the saving truths, which those who deliver them have undertaken to proclaim. It is because there is in the pulpits to which I allude, no preaching to satisfy the heart, to meet the affections, to purify the moral nature, that the power of preaching

has lost so much of its effect. I am not speaking now of fine folks who attend fashionable places of worship, nor am I speaking of that large class called 'skilled artisans,' a very numerous and powerful body, who will, no doubt, in future, largely influence the legislation and destinies of this country; but I am speaking of the great mass of the poorer sort of people whom we find in our large towns, and of our agricultural labourers. To these people the power of preaching is just the same as it ever was, provided it comes from a truly pious man, who appeals to the heart and preaches the simple truths of the Gospel. I have been very much among this class, and I know that they will either have religion of the best quality or none at all. And the religion which is of the best quality, in their estimation, is that which addresses itself to their inmost affections, softens all their sorrows, and alleviates their miseries by showing them that they have the sympathy of their fellow men and the still higher sympathy of the God who created them.*

Again, when urging upon the clergy the necessity of being able to meet every man with his own kind of weapons, he counselled them never to let this be done at the expense of the great practical truths of Christianity:—

Answer him by saying that he has a witness in his own heart, that he needs a Saviour; tell him not to trouble himself about these minute things, for which he has little time or leisure, but to examine his own heart; hold up before him that truth which is most opposed by the natural heart of man—he will admit everything rather than that—hold up clearly before him the great truth of a crucified Saviour. This is the great crucial, the great testing point. That school of objectors will give you every single thing but that. They will give you the Incarnation, the Divinity of our Lord: they will give you almost every single thing that an Evangelical heart can desire—but that they will never give you. That is the way in which they are now deceiving so many, and that is especially the way—I know it from practical experience—in which they are getting

* Church Pastoral Aid Society, May 7, 1868.

hold of so many highly-educated young women of this country: speaking to them about our Lord as if they loved Him more than any other class of men loved Him, and considered Him the very height of human perfection; and thus turning them away from the great saving truth, without which no other truth in Scripture would be worth having—salvation by a crucified Redeemer. I say, therefore, that though it is not necessary for you to deal with controversy, you should be armed at all points, and ready to give a reason for the hope that is in you.*

Of Lord Shaftesbury's unfaltering belief in the special and particular operation of Divine Providence, even in matters of comparatively minor importance: of his childlike confidence in God as the "hearer and answerer of prayer," we have already spoken in these pages. There is one other subject to which reference has also been made, but which should be mentioned more particularly now—his belief in the doctrine of the Second Coming of our Lord. It entered into all his thoughts and feelings; it stimulated him in the midst of all his labours; it gave tone and colour to all his hopes for the future. The motto engraven upon the flaps of the envelopes he daily used, bore the inscription, "Even so come, Lord Jesus," in the original Greek.

"I cannot tell you how it was that this subject first took hold upon me," said Lord Shaftesbury to the writer; "it has been, as far as I can remember, a subject to which I have always held tenaciously. Belief in it has been a moving principle in my life; for I see every thing going on in the world subordinate to this one great event. It is not a popular doctrine; it is

* Church Pastoral Aid Society, May 5, 1864.

not, as it should be, the hope of the Church; it is, as a rule, held only by the poor. I have on several occasions taken upon me to point out to the clergy that it should be one of the main subjects of preaching. I made a speech at Exeter Hall, and said, 'You begin to see that the world cannot be saved by human agency; it must be by the coming again of Christ. As a Church, you are full of self-righteousness. You think you can do all by yourselves, and do not even hint at a Second Advent.' Things are better than they were, however. I remember the time when it was the rarest thing possible to hear the subject referred to. I know there are many difficulties connected with it, and that different views are held. I, for example, concur in almost everything said by Mr. Grattan Guinness,* except the astronomical part, which I do not understand. Of one thing I am satisfied: the great event is not far off. 'Behold, I come quickly' does not mean, 'Behold, I come in a hurry,' but 'when the times are ripe.' Everything is ripening. God is doing His own work. Preachers and missionaries see now that it cannot be done by them. Difficulties are multiplying in every department of things. Only a few days ago Gladstone said to a friend of mine, 'God help the man who has to govern this country in twenty years' time.'"

In a letter to Mr. Hind Smith, the Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association, he wrote:—

This dispensation seems to be drawing to a close, yet our Lord delayeth His coming; and why? Perhaps He comes not, because so

* "The Approaching End of the Age."

few people ask Him to come. Were effectual fervent prayer of righteous men multiplied a hundredfold, the state of things might be changed, and many now alive might live to see the fulfilment of the promise which is the grand and only hope of all the ends of the earth. Speak to the young men to lay this event deeply to heart.

Miss Marsh, one of his greatly valued friends, writing, after his decease, an "In Memoriam" letter to the *Record*, remarks: "'There is no real remedy,' he often said, 'for all this mass of misery, but in the return of our Lord Jesus Christ. Why do we not plead for it every time we hear the clock strike?'"

Scattered throughout Lord Shaftesbury's Diaries there are a great number of passages, in which he expresses, very clearly, his views upon many vital religious points. A few of them have been collected, and are given here. They, better than any words of ours, will describe that phase of his life which was the mainspring of the whole—the life of quiet, joyful communion with God and with his own heart.

March 21st, 1851.—I do not resort to the 'Sortes Biblicæ,' because I do not see that God has instructed us to consult Him in that way. Nevertheless, He sometimes, I feel assured, imparts encouragement and comfort by suggesting passages of the Bible. Had prayed much to God to know His will, whether I should persist or forbear. I opened, at hazard (not thinking then to inquire), the second chapter of Chronicles. My eye fell on the answer to Jabez, 'And the Lord heard him in that which he requested.' Went to church, and lesson for the day said, 'See, I have accepted thee in this thing also.' Next, at morning prayers in family, read, 'Be it done to thee, even as thou wilt;' and, finally, on day preceding the effort, opened first chapter that occurred, and read to Minny, 'I will give thee a mouth and wisdom that no one of your adversaries shall be able to gainsay or resist.'

Jan. 9th, 1852.—Sunday. Is it not clearer every day to thinking minds, and much more to influenced hearts, that it is a 'little flock' to whom the Father will give the kingdom? And yet it is wonderful to see the self-delusion of many, who confess that they are sinners, and hope, in that confession, to be secure, and who yet do nothing to extricate themselves from the sin they acknowledge. The great mass of conforming and confessing people have no zeal, no 'charity'—I wish our translators had retained the true word 'love'—no burning love for the honour of God, no burning love for the temporal and eternal welfare of mankind; and yet, without this, there is no true and vital religion in the heart.

Christmas Day, 1852.—I am taught on this day that 'Jesus Christ, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God,' and yet He 'made Himself of no reputation, and took upon Him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men; and being found in fashion as a man, He humbled himself and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross.' *Do* we believe this? *can* we believe this? It would be difficult, nay, quite impossible to do so on any grounds of experience or human reasoning. Nothing but Scripture can interpret Scripture. I should reject it, if announced to me by man. I accept it, believe it, bless it, as announced in Holy Writ. The text that says 'God is Love,'—the pure, perfect spirit of Love itself,—explains it all; and, like the Israelites, I bow the head and worship.

June 19th, 1853.—Sunday. This is a passage from Bishop Stillingfleet: 'Prayer among men is supposed to be a means to change the person to whom we pray; but prayer to God doth not change Him, but fits us to receive the things prayed for!' A great passage, and very explanatory of the difficulty oftentimes started, that the will of the all-seeing, all-knowing, all-judging God is to be diverted or nullified by the pertinacity of man! The will of God is always, at every moment, in every place, in all circumstances, and towards all persons, to be gracious and merciful. Every bounty and goodness that the bodies and souls of men can desire, are ever flowing from Him; but we are not capable of receiving them; they

are, therefore, for the time, lost, and man sinks in misery; but prayer, intense prayer, that spirit by which men 'ought always to pray, and not to faint,' begets in us the aptitude, the capability, to apprehend that which God is ever bestowing; and *we* are changed while *He* continues 'the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.'

April 3rd, 1854.—Reading 2nd Chronicles. The older I am, the more I love that book. It should be studied, weighed, and prayed over, hour after hour, by every man in public life.

Oct. 11th, 1857.—Read in afternoon Matt. xxv. What a revelation of the future judgment on the largest portion of the human race! Those on the left hand are condemned, not for murder, robbery, debauchery, not for breaches of the Decalogue, or for open blasphemy, not for sins they have *committed*, but for duties that they have *omitted*. And is not this the state of the great mass of mankind? The great mass do not commit great crimes; did they so, society would fall to pieces in the twinkling of an eye; but they go on, day after day to their life's end, thinking of themselves, very little of others, and nothing of God. Rich and poor are alike; the rich are absorbed by enjoyment, the poor by necessity, the intermediate class by the pursuit and manufacture of wealth. 'I have done no harm,' 'I am not worse than my neighbours,' 'I have merely used my own,' &c., &c.: all these are the pleas, the hopes, the justifications of the 'innocent' world. But while man takes one view, God takes another. 'Have you done good?' 'Have you attempted it?' 'Have you sought to advance my Name?' 'Have you laboured for the physical and spiritual welfare of your fellow sinners?' St. James (iv. 17) condenses the spirit of our Lord's words, 'Therefore to him that knoweth to do good and doeth it not, to him it is sin.'

Aug. 29th, 1863.—The claims, the empire, the resistless force of Science are pleaded by Neology to deny, qualify, or countervail the authority of that revelation which eighteen centuries have received from God with gratitude and joy.

The all-absorbing, all-subduing necessities of science demand (and her votaries, like those of the goddess Kali, the most ferocious of the Hindoo bestialities, rejoice in the demand) the torture, mutilation, prolonged agonies, and 'vivisection' of the animal creation, in defiance of Him whose 'tender mercies are over all His works.'

And now we learn* that science is to govern the destinies of the human race, that it is to alter everything, that it is so to swell and advance mankind, that a century hence will see sons and daughters so gigantic in knowledge and intellectual power, that the present generation will seem, by comparison, below the stature of dwarfs!

This is little short of *atheism*. It puts science on a par, at least, with God, and maintains it all-sufficiently for every want of man. And yet I would not repress science by law or by public opinion. Nay, more, I would encourage, in the most liberal way (were I rich, save the mark!), the study and advance of it. It is not the real knowledge, *but the ignorance of scientific men that does mischief.* Every fact in science, if rightly used, is an evidence to God's truth as revealed in the Bible. For a long time to come, there may appear discrepancy, nay, collision, between science in its elementary state and Scriptural assertions; but I have no more doubt, than I have of my own existence, that science, in a more extended compass, long, very long, before it is perfect, will be the surest, stoutest, most irresistible 'Apology for the Bible' in the whole history of facts and arguments since controversy begun. It will prove the Mosaic creation; the authenticity of the Pentateuch; it will establish the Deluge and Noah's ark. It will render all Joshua credible; the miracles of Moses and the Red Sea. It will make every syllable of the Old and New Testament as clear and certain to our minds and souls as hunger and thirst, food and raiment, pain and pleasure, are to our bodies. I do not object to any research into Nature and her deepest secrets; I do not say 'no' to any one who wishes to announce that he has discovered a fact inconsistent with Scripture. Let him do so, and push his discoveries further; but let him not, in the arrogance of half-informed persons, assume and declare that the puling infancy of his science has flooded the manhood of the Bible. Let him remember the words of Bildad the Shuhite (Job viii. 9),

* The allusion is to a speech by Sir W. Armstrong, at the British Association, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and the *Times*' comment thereon.

a wiser man than ever he will be, 'For we are but of yesterday, and know nothing, because our days are a shadow.'

Well, then, were I wealthy and powerful, I would endeavour to hasten this consummation. I would give enormous sums for the advancement of science. I would make no conditions, I would abstain from all interference. I would make the promotion of it various and rapid. I would largely reward men, without reference to their theological views. I would render, under God's blessing, the scientific and intellectual, and even the malignant infidels, pioneers for the Truth. They should, unknowingly and unwillingly, build up the Faith they sought to destroy. Such is my Sunday dream, for dream, I fear, it is.

Jan. 11th, 1866.—Distraction is the order of the day—no pause in variety and novelty. To keep pace with the light and solid productions of mind is impossible even to those who have no other pursuit. How, then, is it obtainable, even in imagination, to those who are engaged in the activities of life? There are a thousand things written every month of merit and excellence in their several spheres: poetry, novels, essays, reviews, periodicals, and last, though not least, newspapers. But 'who is sufficient for these things?' And yet to be utterly ignorant of them, is to be ignorant of the age in which we live; its capacity, its power and will of research, its character and tendency, political, moral, and religious.

Besides, in the prevailing heresies of the day, in the vigorous, resolute, intensified efforts of Tractarianism and Neology, a man who desires to 'render a reason of the hope that is in him' cannot go on in the jog-trot way. He must hear the attack and the defence in every case, for every case, though substantially, nay, altogether the same, is so varied by language and illustration, as easily to 'beguile unstable souls.' He should be 'armed at all points,' for he knows not when, or where, he may be summoned, or may find an opportunity, to defend the faith before the working-man, or a private friend, or a public assailant, or his own children! But for all this purpose, much time and much thought are required; and, after all, one is but a poor hand, in the midst of Parliamentary and social toil, alongside a professional and practised controversialist. For my own part, I am out of breath, mind and body, in endeavouring to keep pace

with these people; and the end is, that when I stop to speak, I can only pant, when I ought to argue.

March 30th, 1866.—St. Giles's. Yesterday, again saw Sturt.* He was full of the same confidence, calm and resigned. 'Christ died for every one,' he said; 'I, for *one*, among the rest.' Here he realised the highest point of Christian life, in appropriating to himself, in faith and love, the merits of our dear Lord and Saviour.

March 18th, 1868.—The larger portion of those who profess to believe, are eagerly eliminating from their creed all dogma and doctrine. They accept the Scriptures just as far as it suits their philosophy. Such will be the religion of the future, in which Vishnu, Mahomet, Jupiter, and Jesus Christ will all be upon a level; with some, all equally good, with others, all equally bad.

August 25th.—What is the ultimate good that these haughty sons of science seek for themselves and for mankind? When Professor Godwin has brought thousands to believe that we sprang from a mushroom; when Professor Huxley has taught as many that we sprang from a monkey; when Professor Tyndall has satisfied myriads that prayer is vain, useless, unphilosophical, ridiculous; when the seventh commandment is proved, 'intellectually,' as Pusey says, 'to be no longer necessary'; when polygamy is permitted and divorce rendered ten times more easy; when, with Mr. Mill, it is agreed that there is much morality in the Koran superior to that in the Gospels; when Revelation is accepted only as a myth; and science acknowledged as the only source whence a man may learn 'whence he cometh and whither he goeth': how shall we be better, wiser, happier? What will it add to the joys of men of leisure, ease, and education? but, especially, what will it add to those of the poor, the

* Mr. Henry Sturt, of Crichel, Dorsetshire. He was first cousin to Lord Shaftesbury, his mother having been Lady Mary Ann Ashley. He died on the 15th April following.

sickly, the destitute, to the peasant, the mechanic? Ask not what it will add; turn to the Book of God, and see what it will take away. ' '

Dec. 21st.—Every one, regardless of all that he speaks, writes, or does in respect of things religious, claims for himself—and the easy world accords the claim—a share in the Christian name and Christian sentiment. They vary in form, method, and degree. 'Broad Church' for the members of the Establishment (and, including the indifferent, they are the majority) and 'Liberality' for the Dissenters, are the euphonious expressions under which are entertained every species and degree of unbelief, from a slight perplexity to unqualified materialism. To accept or reject at pleasure; to handle with freedom and levity what they do accept; to make man's intellectual powers the rule and measure of God's Providence, and the limit to what has been revealed; and with all this, as most of them do, to assert externally that they have a sentiment of religion within—they do not explain what—this is, in the pedantic slang of the day, 'the School of Thought!' Truly, it has the 'form of godliness;' but how manifestly it 'denies the power thereof.' The power of godliness demands prostration of heart, a deep sense and feeling of sinfulness, of wretched infirmity, of utter unworthiness in the sight of God, of the necessity of forgiveness by the love and through the strength of Another! Do these thoughts accompany and influence within, the outward profession of religion in the present day? In a few, no doubt; for God has His seven thousand, but the rest are under a strong delusion, and they believe a lie. . . .

Jan. 25th, 1870.—We are prolific just now in associations, unions, and leagues, both offensive and defensive. We have a league for secular and compulsory Education. We have another for the reverse. Unions to promote Ritualism, unions to put it down, unions to make Sundays pleasurable, unions to make them solemn, and now we have in prospect an 'Evangelical Union,' which cannot be, in our present state, anything but an union of words and expressions, of wishes and fears, of arguments and plans, without the possibility of union in any one course of action, or, indeed, of any combined and concentrated

declaration. People are speaking glibly of Evangelical union, without knowing what an Evangelical is. . . .

April 15th (Good Friday).—A deeply solemn day! How many, among religious people, enter altogether into the height and depth of the event? It is here that the faith is weakest, the heart less approachable, and the intellect most active. The repugnance of the human understanding to accept what it cannot comprehend, is prodigious. And yet this repugnance is only in things moral and spiritual, for we readily believe statements in matters of science, which far surpass our powers of mind. But pride lies at the root, both of our acceptance in the one case, and our rejection in the other. We reject the mysterious doctrines of the Gospel, for they attest the infirmity and corruption of the whole race of man. We accept the incomprehensible assertions of science, because they give a lofty eminence to the capacity of intellect! And what is the real force of man's intellect? It cannot arrive at the first principles of its existence and operation. To those who believe, or, perhaps, who wish to believe, the answer to every perplexity and doubt on the subject of the vicarious sacrifice is, 'God is love.' . . .

Jan. 31st, 1871.—Really I have more to fear from the defenders of religion than I have from its assailants. More mischief seems to be done, in many instances, by those who undertake the cause of the Bible, than by those who would overthrow it. Let the Bible tell its own story, use its own language, make its own appeals. Enforce all these, but add nothing of your own. The 'scientific friends' are as dangerous as the 'scientific enemies.' Revelation is addressed to the heart, and not to the intellect. God cares little, comparatively, for man's intellect; He cares greatly for man's heart. 'Two mites' of faith and love, are of infinitely higher value to Him than a 'whole treasury' of thought and knowledge. Satan reigns in the intellect; God in the heart of man. Try the Scriptures intellectually merely, and you will encounter no end of difficulties, and these difficulties will agitate and darken your moral and spiritual perception of the truth. Try them by the heart, and you will find such a flood of

comfort, conviction, and assurance, that all difficulties will vanish, and even those started by science, will fade away; for faith and gratitude will set them down to ignorance and incapacity, and revel in the whole force of the discovery that knowledge, material and philosophical, is for time, but love, for eternity. . . .

April 28th.—How, in logic or common sense, can a man have merit in the sight of God? To have merit, so as to constitute a claim, or the possibility of a claim, on another, must rest on an independence between the parties: a power in one to do something to which the other is not already entitled. God created man, and gave him all his faculties of body, soul, and spirit. God has an unlimited right to every act, word, and thought of the being He has formed. What can a man offer to God that is not already God's own? God gave the faculties, and to Him must return every operation of them. If man devoted to God, perfect obedience, perfect love, from the beginning of his life to the moment of his death, without a moment's suspension, or a particle even of infirmity, he would simply have cleared himself of God's anger: he would have done nothing at all to establish a right on God's favour.

Nov. 19th.—Sunday. We must be very careful in our statements of what God can do, and what He cannot do. 'There is no limit,' says that admirable man, Boultbee,* 'to His power, save that which involves a contradiction, physical, rational, or moral.' Now, what is a contradiction? a contradiction in reference to the Almighty? Several things might be contradictions according to our reason and intellect; but our reason and intellect are created things, and formed within certain limits, and for certain purposes. We are not so constructed as to be able to fathom these things—we ought not even to examine the surface, when we know that we can never in this life reach the bottom. St. Paul has said that 'God cannot lie.' But is that said to declare an impossibility, a defect of power, an utter incapability? I trow not. It is a human expression, to express

* The late Rev. Dr. Boultbee, Principal of St. John's College of Divinity, Highbury.

the truth, unchangeableness, unbounded love, the wonderful character of God. As we say in ordinary life, 'a man *could* not do such and such thing,' because we firmly believe that he would not do it.

Jan. 30th, 1872.—'Oh,' says Froude, and others like him, 'because we write and speak thus, you charge us with hating God.' 'No, not in these terms,' we should reply. 'We charge you with hating *His Christ*.' . . .

April 14th, 1873.—Have been reading Calvin's 'Commentaries on the Scriptures.' They are singularly vigorous and convincing. They abound in piety, learning, discernment, and power of fathoming and penetration. Everything seems to have been written after long and deep deliberation; and hence a wonderful consistency with himself throughout. I can hardly conceive the labour that he must have bestowed on his works. Such thoughts, refined, balanced, compared, finished, and recorded, demand more toil and mind than are given by a hundred critics. Yet I bless God that we are hereafter to be judged by Christ, and not by Calvin. With all his piety, goodness, truth, he is awfully severe, and does not seem to be, like our blessed Lord, 'touched with a feeling of our infirmities.'

Yesterday, Easter Sunday, took Lord's Supper. God be praised! When reading St. John, and the last words on the Cross, 'It is finished,' convinced that, if the doctrine of transubstantiation be true, Christ would have said 'It is begun.' It is begun, the series of sacrifices, now commenced by my death, to be repeated to the end of time. Again in Corinthians: 'Ye show forth the Lord's death till He come.' On the Romish assumption, we do not *show forth*, or *proclaim*, or *commemorate*, the Lord's death each time we take the Holy Sacrament. We *cause* His death, we *renew* it, we *compass* it. All alike foolish and blasphemous.

April 15th.—Doddridge, in his paraphrase commenting in Sect. 170 on Mark xiv. 72, calls the Authorised Version a 'valuable translation.' I wish that in the two passages, John vi. 20, and xviii. 5, the Greek words, being the same, had been rendered by the

same in English. The result would be most striking. The very same words operate two very opposite effects. 'It is I!' overwhelmed, and threw to the earth, his furious adversaries. 'It is I!' gave at once security and joy to his terrified friends. . . .

April 16th.—That Elijah should precede the second advent of our Lord, Doddridge calls 'a wild notion,' and says that 'though asserted by Tertullian, it is confuted by Grotius.' The prophecy of Malachi is decided and minute, and how was it fulfilled by John the Baptist? Our Lord does not seem to say that it was. Christ's first advent was not the 'coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord,' neither did the Baptist turn the hearts, &c., &c. The difficulty lies here: Our Lord states 'Elijah truly shall come, &c.,' and He immediately adds, 'But I say unto you that Elias is come, &c.' I see a difference between the two. John, as Elias, preceding the Messiah with simple calls to repentance, and no exercise of avenging power. The real 'Elijah,' as of old, will precede the Messiah, with wrath against the modern Baal. Christ Himself drew the distinction. His first advent was to proclaim 'the acceptable year of the Lord'; His second, 'to introduce the day of vengeance of our God.' . . .

April 3rd, 1874.—Good Friday. The events of this day are so astounding, so infinitely beyond the comprehension, feeling, and even the imagination of man—so contrary to all our selfishness, so inconsistent with all our habits, so supremely wonderful, inexplicable, and unparalleled, that did we not know God to be love, and His blessed Son, therefore, the same—pure, absolute, boundless love—we could hardly, I think, believe a word of such a plan and performance of redemption. It is only by seeing Him as the real, single, intense, eternal, and illimitable principle of love, that we can bring our feeble minds, perverted judgments, and corrupt hearts, to a conclusion even that the thing was possible.

May 14th, 1878. . . . is falling rapidly into the errors of the day. He preaches very smooth things. In a long sermon about

forgiveness and God's mercy, he only mentioned 'sin' once. 'It is not,' he said, 'that I intend to suppress God's hatred of sin. God forbid.' And there it ended. Then, at the close of his sermon, in order to magnify the mercy of God, he exclaimed, 'There is no one in this congregation who, having come to the service an unbeliever, may not leave it justified before God.' 'That is true, no doubt, but is it truly stated? What is belief? What does it contain? What does it demand? Does it demand conviction of sin, confession of sin, repentance and faith? All these things, except faith, are dropped now-a-days, and people are led to believe that to accept Christ as a Saviour, and to wish for His salvation, is the sum and substance of a heart turned to God. It requires no self-abasement, no confession of the justice of the Divine wrath, no acknowledgment of inherited corruption; and, disguise it as the preacher may, no sense of demerit, and no sense of deserved condemnation. It is, in fact, reduced to an easy, agreeable acceptance of a pleasant invitation, to be had at any time that is convenient to you. Herein lies the seed of an incipient Antinomianism.

April 20th.—Easter Sunday. The simple dignity of the narrative in the Gospels, of the Resurrection of our blessed Lord, is, in itself, an ample evidence of its truth. An event so stupendous, the accomplishment of prophecy so clear, the fulfilment of promise so true, and the manifestation of Almighty power so irresistible, are recorded in a few colloquial words, without note or comment, without effort to impress the reader or magnify the issue. Contrast this with any merely human composition (real or imaginary) to set forth the life and achievements of a hero, and mark the difference. The panegyrist cannot trust to the facts alone, or to the deductions of his readers, he must amplify, place in several lights, and stimulate the imagination.

Nov. 28th.—Believers and unbelievers have, each of them, their fears, but how different in intensity and duration! The unbeliever, whenever he reflects, must feel, 'What if it all be true?' The believer, in a moment of depression, may think, 'What if none

of it be true? The unbeliever dismisses reflection, and goes on as before. The believer indulges it, and it issues in redoubled assurance and joy.

June 5th, 1879.—What is more intelligible, and what more awful, than the Seven Letters to the Seven Churches? Read again the whole this morning, and with special attention to that to Ephesus. Whatever is said to that Church collectively, is said to every human soul individually. 'Who, then,' as the Apostle asked, 'can be saved?' There is but one answer, the answer of our blessed Lord—'With man this is impossible, but with God all things are possible.'

Aug. 17th, 1880.—Read this morning, the first thing, Psalms xc. and xci.—'The song of Moses, the Man of God.' Blessed be the name and memory of that true, noble, beloved servant of the Lord Jesus Christ, for doubtless our Saviour would have said of him, as He said of Abraham, 'He rejoiced to see my day, and he saw it, and was glad.'

In what spirit and in what sense did the old believing Hebrews read those two compositions? Is it probable—nay, is it possible—that men, reading and hearing such things with humble understandings and devout hearts, should not have felt and seen that there was in store for God's real people, an eternity of life, of happiness, and of truth?

CHAPTER XXIV.

1856—1858.

A Ten Years' Diary—The Sabbath Day—A Parisian Sunday—The Crystal Palace—Sunday Bands—A Packed Meeting—Threatened Riots—24, Grosvenor Square in a State of Siege—Early Closing Movement—Saturday Half-Holidays—At Windsor—Peace Rejoicings—Life Peerages—Peers from the Ranks of Commercial Men—Death of Lord Cowper—Harvest Home—Chinese Difficulties—The Lorcha "Arrow"—The Opium Trade—Motion on its Legality—Dissolution of Parliament—General Election—Return of Lord Ashley for Hull—Exeter Hall Special Services—Opposition—Motion to Amend Religious Worship Act of 1855—Letter from Dr. Rowland Williams—Speech on Religious Worship Act Amendment Bill—Action of Bishop Wilberforce and the High Church Party—Bill Withdrawn in Favour of Archbishop of Canterbury's Bill—Indian Mutinies—A Special Prayer—Letter to Mr. Evelyn Ashley—Speech at Wimborne—Comment in the *Times*—A Statement Questioned—Letter from Lady Canning—Fifteen Years Later—Missionary Zeal—Sir Henry Havelock—Sir Henry Lawrence—Vote of Censure on the Government—Indian Affairs—Ceaseless Correspondence—Religious Meetings—The People's Park, Halifax—Elevation of Mr. Macaulay to the Peerage—Correspondence with Lord Macaulay—His Death—Letter from Mr. Charles Sumner—Admission of Jews to Parliament—Social Science Congress at Liverpool.

From 1855 to 1865—the years during which Lord Palmerston was Prime Minister—the Diary of Lord Shaftesbury is scantier than at any other period of his life, one volume containing the whole of the entries for the ten years. They are sufficiently full, however, to give a clear account of the labours in which he was engaged, as well as a succinct history of the times. There are, throughout those years, many

entries referring to Lord Palmerston's Church appointments, but these we shall reserve until later, in order to mark the whole progress of Lord Shaftesbury's action in relation to them.

Against any encroachment upon the sanctity of the Christian Sabbath, Lord Shaftesbury always came to the front with a vigorous opposition. He had placed himself at the head of many societies for guarding it, and, at any time, could put in motion a vast system of religious machinery to resist the movements made by secularists, or others, for "violating the Lord's Day." For over forty years, in Parliament, at public meetings, by appeals through the press, and by every other means within his reach, he kept up an unceasing warfare:—sometimes to obtain restrictive legislation on the subject, but always to advance the claims of the Day of Rest on the conscience and intelligence of the nation, and especially of the working classes. In his speeches at the annual meetings of the Lord's Day Observance Society, and the Working Men's Lord's Day Rest Association, over both of which he presided, he enforced what he regarded as the rights, duties and privileges of the Sabbath in relation to social, domestic, political, and religious life; and as, year by year, there were fresh attempts made in and out of Parliament to procure the opening of museums and places of amusement on that day, so, year after year, to the very close of his life, he was zealously at work organising fresh efforts to resist the threatened encroachments. "Your political liberties," he said on one occasion to the members of the Working

Men's Lord's Day Rest Association, "are more secure under the charter of the Sabbath, than they can be under all the charters which were ever given by any of our kings, including that of Runnymede itself. That charter is greater than any other that God has ever given to man. It is as great as the sanctity of His own Book."

We have seen his action in 1847 with regard to Sunday labour in the Post-office, and, subsequently, in stopping the Sunday delivery of letters throughout the kingdom. In 1854 he succeeded in passing a Sunday Closing of Public Houses Act—which, however, was repealed in the following year by the Sale of Beer Act. And now we must look at some of his further efforts in the same cause.

Any thing that would tend to make the English Sunday approximate to that of the French, was hateful to him. He had no sympathy with the saying, "Ennui was born in London on a Sunday," as he shows in the following note:—

Sept. 23rd, 1855.—The stir in Paris on the Lord's Day is like the breaking up of a mill-dam. It is a rush, a torrent that carries all before it. Each one must judge for himself, but, putting aside the religious considerations, I vastly prefer, for a day of repose, the deadness of London. One's head whirls with the flow of vehicles and the unceasing masses of human life, that make the streets and walks almost groan with their weight. The people seem to delight in the impossibility of moving backward and forward without jostling one another. But so far from being enlivening, the spectacle is, to my mind, actually depressing. It is terrible, painful, alarming to see so wholesale, resolute, national a desecration of the Lord's Day. Whether it be disbelief or disobedience, the result is distressing, and weighs one

down with the reflection that millions are set in open resistance to the Most High, and are bent on giving the victory to the flesh over the spirit, to time over eternity, to the god of this world over the God of the other. 'They crown,' as old Jeremy Taylor says, 'their cups with roses and their heads with folly and forgetfulness.'

This excites one's sorrow, and, I trust, one's prayers. Another spectacle excites my indignation. Every sense of humanity, kindness and justice, is shocked by the perpetual unbroken labour of the working man on the Sabbath Day. Buildings proceed, and thousands toil as though they had no limbs to be reposed, and no rights to be respected. Can we wonder at the sixty years of revolution this country has undergone? Shall we wonder if it enter soon on another half century of woe and conflict?

And yet there are many in England, some from ignorance, some from malignity, who would *reduce* us, or, as they would say, *elevate* us to a Parisian level.

In 1856, there were two causes for grave apprehension that the Parisian Sunday was to be introduced into England. Sunday bands were permitted in the metropolitan parks, and strenuous efforts were being made to throw open the Crystal Palace on that day, while the old attempt to legalise the opening of the British Museum on Sundays, was renewed with greatly increased vigour.

As regards the Crystal Palace, Lord Shaftesbury had a personal grievance. When the enterprise was taking shape, he, at a time when there was considerable difficulty and some fear with regard to it, had come forward to support the effort, and had presided at the enthusiastic meeting in which its future was determined. "Having obtained a guarantee that it would, under trustees, be turned to the best purposes, and that it would not be open on Sundays," he noted

in his Diary at the time, "I deemed it right to make an effort for the safe and useful recreations of the people—to please them, at any rate, by making the attempt."

It was, therefore, with no little anxiety that he watched the movements of the Crystal Palace Company, and with no little fervour that he addressed an enormous gathering of Sunday-school teachers in Exeter Hall, met for the purpose of protesting against the proposed opening of the Palace on Sunday.

His opposition to Sunday bands in the metropolitan parks, was destined to occasion him considerable inconvenience. Popular feeling was very strong in certain quarters upon any interference with the right of people to do as they pleased on the Sunday. In the previous year, Lord Robert Grosvenor had introduced a Bill to prevent Sunday trading in the metropolis, and the people, thinking that their liberty was being infringed, commenced a series of Sunday riots in Hyde Park, and continued them for several Sundays until they gained their end—the withdrawal of the Bill. In the course of these riots, serious cases of personal violence had occurred, windows had been broken, and attempts had been made to set fire to houses.

When, therefore, in 1856, Lord Shaftesbury commenced a campaign against Sabbath desecration—with which, by the way, Lord Robert Grosvenor's measur had nothing to do, as it had no reference whatever to the "better observance of the Sabbath," but only to the pressure on certain tradespeople who desired a

full day of rest—he did so at considerable peril. In February, he took the chair of the Working Men's Lord's Day Rest Association, with the following result:—

Feb. 11th.—The enemy had been beforehand, and packed the room very dexterously, by scattering, not concentrating, their numbers. The chairman, therefore, was not even master of the platform; all was noise and confusion; all threatened violence, if not of blows—though that was very near—yet of perilous pressure. Seeing that order was impossible, because disorder was predetermined, and that nothing but mischief could arise from a prolongation of the meeting, I vacated the chair, and gave our friends an opportunity of closing the meeting, without furnishing to their adversaries an apparent victory, no speeches having been made and no resolution moved.

Later in the year, a fresh effort on the part of Lord Shaftesbury was destined to be attended with more threatening hazards still. Sir Benjamin Hall, the Chief Commissioner of Works, had, in the previous year, introduced military bands into the metropolitan parks. Lord Shaftesbury objected strongly to this innovation, on religious grounds as well as on many others,—such as the compulsion of the bandsmen to do anything but regimental duties on the Sunday, the fear lest the popular notion that it was a movement of Prince Albert's to Germanise the Sunday should render him unpopular, and the offence to the religious feelings of hundreds of thousands of the community. But it was simply on the ground of national responsibility that he opposed it. His efforts were directed to induce the Government to withdraw the appointment of the bands, when the national responsibility would cease. As to

the rest, he considered that only private efforts, by teaching, preaching, or example, should be made to raise the standard of Sunday observance, and under no circumstances would he urge an aggressive policy, or invoke the aid of legislation or authority, except in matters under law and police regulations. In a letter on the subject to Dr. Adair Crawford, the editor of the *Record*, he says :—

Many evil things are permitted because they cannot be safely suppressed. If these bands are put down by authority, we shall have fearful riots and collisions with the police: a repetition of such things in all the gardens and parks of the metropolis, a resolute effort on the part of the people, headed by their leaders, to try their strength with Exeter Hall.

Were these attempts novel and unprecedented, the Ministers would be justified, nay, compelled to repress them; but they have, unfortunately, given their sanction; pronounced them to be innocent and healthful; and you cannot expect that the people will comprehend why they should not be allowed to do these things at their own expense.

The result of his endeavours to obtain the withdrawal of the sanction of the Government, is told in the following extracts from the Diary :—

May 17th.—London. Violent, and fearful struggles on Sabbath question. Palmerston suffered himself to be dragged through the dirt by Sir B. Hall, and endorsed all the follies, insolences, outrages of that perilous fellow. Mighty feeling against him in House of Commons—his Government endangered. I had forewarned him heartily, earnestly, but he rejected my advice. Matters, however, had become serious, and I spoke then to Archbishop of Canterbury, and obtained from him a letter to P. Went to P. late on Friday night, and persuaded him to accept letter and discontinue bands;

announced it on Monday morning; great rejoicing, and addresses voted.

Vengeance, however, is announced. Sir B. and many in Brookes's; choice spirits from every class, high and low; the *Times* and a whole swarm of penny posters, are frantic; riots are threatened to-morrow; furious placards all over the streets, and *my house*, here accurately 'numbered and defined,' is marked out for the special visit of the mob. To-morrow (Sunday) is fixed for the display of 'public rage'; and, in fact, the police are somewhat alarmed. It is a frightful thing that every fancy of the populace, if thwarted, is to be supported by tumultuous gatherings, and yielded, as last year, by timid Ministers! But will Palmerston yield? He is lost if he does.

May 18th.—Sunday. The 'Ides of March' are come, but not passed; must barricade my house and prepare for mischief.

Cannot but muse sometimes on the joy that will be felt by many in London, especially in the clubs and drawing-rooms, when they hear of the 'smash' in Grosvenor Square.

The conclusion of the whole matter may be told in an extract from a letter to his son Evelyn:—

During two successive Sundays our house has been in a state of siege; windows closed, blinds down, and mobs expected! All, nevertheless, passed quietly; the people are utterly indifferent; though a few 'roughs' will easily be found to break windows and assault policemen.

The great band question, if left alone, will go out like a night lamp—yet it is the commencement of a series of such things, attempts to lower all religious observances, and secularise whatever is esteemed sacred. We are taught to expect movements, and successful movements, like these in the 'latter days.'

There was nothing morose or ascetic about Lord Shaftesbury's views; he had no desire to curtail lawful recreations; on the contrary, we find him, in a variety of ways, labouring to bring an increase of healthful

and innocent recreations within the reach of all. In these years, therefore, when he was so actively engaged in resisting encroachments on the sanctity of the Sabbath, he was as ardently busy in seeking to obtain Early Closing in places of business, and the inestimable boon of a Saturday half-holiday.

In an address to the members of the Young Men's Christian Association at Manchester, on the 25th of March, he said:—

There is no slight amount of mischief arising from the long detention of young people of both sexes in shops and warehouses. I believe this practice to be productive of the very greatest mischief; it lowers the whole physical system by over-toil, and it lowers, simultaneously, the moral taste and appetite, and destroys in them every desire for what is wholesome, leaving only the desire for what is most stimulating and sensual. The body is wearied and the spirit deadened, which otherwise might have been employed in matters tending to reform, elevate, and dignify the personal character; and, therefore, I see the immense value of what is called the Early Closing Movement. I believe it has been, to the young, of immense value, and I should be very glad to know that simultaneously with that we had, not only for young men, but also for the whole operative class, the assignment every week of a good half-holiday. I believe there is no other way in which you can improve the observance of the Sabbath so effectually, as by giving a half-holiday on every Saturday afternoon. And I must say that all those who have concurred with me in opposition to the motion of Sir Joshua Walmsley, for opening places of amusement on the Lord's Day, are bound to go along with those who entertain the opinion that I do—that if we refuse to give them that form of recreation on the Lord's Day, we are bound to do what we can to give them some form of recreation on some other day.

Among the events noted in the Diary during the year 1856 are the following:—

Jan. 24th (Windsor Castle).—Sir E. Lyons here. Full of interesting and instructive narrative. . . . His statements redeem the character of Lord Raglan as a general, and show that in many, and those the most important instances, the most necessary and promising enterprises were stopped by the refusal of the French to co-operate, and in some, too, by their failure to act up to their engagements. I never heard or read such a complication of errors or mishaps, growing, in great measure, out of the evil of a divided command. A special Providence must have watched over our armies, or we should have been, as Canrobert was always fearing and saying, 'thrown into the sea.'

March 31st.—Yesterday, Sunday. Peace was signed, and the intelligence sent by electric telegraph. The guns announced it to the people. Let us bless the Lord who has brought us out of so many and great dangers, who has shown us such unspeakable and undeserved mercies, and who has taught us how and why to thank Him! May it be a true peace, a lasting peace, a fruitful peace. May it give double energy and double capacity to our thoughts, desires, and efforts.

May 31st.—On Thursday metropolis equally distinguished by its numbers and its discipline: self-discipline, self-control; two millions of people must have been in the streets during the fireworks and illuminations (500,000, it is said—I heard it from Palmerston—had been added from the country), and yet all was quiet, orderly, peaceable. I saw myself, from the window, myriads collected, and only one mounted policeman to represent authority. The stream, the river, the deluge of human beings that flowed by, the steady pace, the density of the mass, the complete occupation of the whole width of the streets, the regularity of movement, like an easy water-course, no sound but that of slight conversation and a few short laughs, and the time during which it lasted, as they quitted Hyde Park, were unprecedented and indescribable.

August 19th.—Miss Nightingale is returned to England quietly, and neither receiving nor, so far as we can see, wishing a triumphant entry. She is worthy of honour, and may she have it to her heart's content.

The question of the creation of life peerages, which was under discussion during this year, was one on which

Lord Shaftesbury held strong opinions. It arose in consequence of the issue of letters patent purporting to create Sir James Parke, Knight, a Baron of the United Kingdom for life. The appointment was challenged by Lord Lyndhurst, who contended that there were certain limits to the power of the Crown in the creation of peers, and that the House of Lords had a jurisdiction and a right to decide on the validity of the patents by which commoners are admitted to the privilege of peers.

"As for the Appellate Jurisdiction," Lord Shaftesbury wrote to a friend, "I had rather lose it altogether than admit the creation of peers for life." Referring to the debate, he says :—

Feb. 11th.—We had a good debate on the 7th respecting peerages for life. A majority referred the question to a Committee of Privileges. Derby never spoke so well before. The discussion is injurious; it brings under Republican and hostile review, the whole principle of hereditary succession, and has roused the Democrats to hope and action.

The scheme is not popular. Yet it may triumph, for the Government will try to enforce the measure, though most of them dislike it.

While the question was pending, he wrote to Mr. Haldane :—

February 20, 1856.

. . . The life peerage question might be met in a safe and useful way. Doubtless, the Appellate Jurisdiction is very weak, and likely to become weaker in the House of Lords. But an arrangement whereby we should annex a seat in the Upper House to certain *judicial functions*, existing and to be created, would take away the bald, crude creation of life peerages, prevent all possibility of abuse, and give us the strength we desire.

The Diary continues:—

Feb. 21st.—Life peerage question yet undecided. No one stronger than myself for an improvement of our administration of the Appellate Jurisdiction; no one more satisfied of the rectitude and patriotism of Palmerston's intentions, but no one more opposed to the manner of it. There are other ways, safer, simpler; why not pursue them? Palmerston sees it, in fact, with me; but I fear that party spirit, and the desire of a victory, although an injurious one to the cause they profess to love, will prevail.

The question was referred to a Committee of Privileges, and, in the end, Baron Parke was created a peer, with title to issue.

The creation of peers from among the ranks of commercial men, had been advocated by Lord Shaftesbury (in a letter to Lord John Russell, which we have already quoted) as early as the year 1849. The result of further efforts in this direction is given in the following entry:—

August 8th (Schwalbach).—As I foresaw and foretold, so is the result of my advice to Palmerston to raise a millowner to a peerage. The *Manchester Times* (Bright's paper) rejoices in the proper appreciation of the merits and position of manufacturers, and speaks the sentiments of the entire class. They consider, and this I was convinced of, that a bar of exclusion is removed, and their equality recognised.

In the spring of this year Lord Shaftesbury sustained a loss in the removal, by death, of his brother-in-law, Lord Cowper. He announced the fact to his son Evelyn thus:—

Lord Shaftesbury to the Hon. Evelyn Ashley.

April 16, 1856.

My dear Edy,—It has pleased God to take, in a most sudden manner, your poor dear Uncle Cowper. He died last night at Maidstone, whither he had gone on county business as Lord Lieutenant. Kind, good, amiable creature he was. It is a sad, very sad loss; lay it seriously to heart. 'In the midst of life we are in death.' But so live that death, through the love of Christ, may be only the door to go out of wretched time and go into a blessed eternity! May God be with you.

Yours affectionately,

S.

Referring in his Diary to his loss, he writes:—

April 17th.—Poor dear Fordwich! He was with us well on Monday morning; he left London well on Tuesday morning for business at Maidstone; at three o'clock he was taken ill in court, and at half-past nine he was dead! The suddenness, the awfulness of it recalls forcibly the death of poor Jocelyn. Both mysterious, both inscrutable decrees of Providence; we have only to do as the children of Israel, 'bow the head and worship.'

A more lovable man never lived; a good husband, and tenderly attached to his children.

The celebration of Harvest Home at St. Giles's this year was attended with special circumstances. On one day 250 labourers sat down to a feast, and 350 on the following day. On each occasion the festivities were preceded by Divine Service in the church.

Oct. 29th.—Antony arrived safe and sound from Russia, and in time for this festival.

House full (who would have thought it?)—of foreigners! Creptowitch (the Russian Ambassador) and his wife, Azeglio, Messrs.

Monico and Jaucourt, these all present at the Harvest Home. The Persignys invited and most anxious to come, but summoned suddenly to Windsor. Last night arrived the Portuguese Minister, M. Lavradio, and his spouse.

All this to help my mother-in-law in her necessary duties, to propitiate the 'parlez-vous,' and 'make the thing go off.'

Oct. 31st.—Persignys came after all, and went away this morning. All were good-humoured and agreeable. Creptowitch specially pleased me.

In the speech from the throne at the opening of Parliament on February the 3rd, 1857, this ominous passage occurred: "Her Majesty commands us to inform you that acts of violence, insults to the British flag, and infraction of treaty rights committed by the local Chinese authorities at Canton, and a pertinacious refusal of redress, have rendered it necessary for her Majesty's officers in China to have recourse to measures of force to obtain satisfaction."

This state of things had arisen from the fact of a boat (lorcha), the *Arrow*, having been boarded by Chinese, who carried off twelve men on a charge of piracy. It was contended by the owners that the *Arrow* was a British vessel, and by the Chinese that it was a Chinese vessel. The British Consul demanded the release of the captured men, and his demand not being complied with, war with China ensued. As a matter of fact, the lorcha *Arrow* was not a British vessel at all, and complications of a most serious nature arose in China, and reacted upon the Government at home.

Lord Derby brought forward in the House of Lords,

on the 24th of February, a motion censuring the Government, in sweeping terms, for their proceedings in China. The debate continued over two nights, when the division showed a majority of 146 to 110 against Lord Derby's motion. On February the 26th, Mr. Cobden, in the House of Commons, brought forward a motion: "That this House has heard with concern of the conflicts which have occurred between the British and Chinese authorities in the Canton river; and, without expressing an opinion as to the extent to which the Government of China may have afforded this country cause of complaint respecting the non-fulfilment of the Treaty of 1842, this House considers that the papers which have been laid upon the table fail to establish satisfactory grounds for the violent measures resorted to at Canton in the late affair of the *Arrow*, and that a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the state of our commercial relations with China."

Lord Shaftesbury's views with reference to this question are given in the following entries:—

February 27th.—China question uppermost in men's minds and on men's tongues. Party spirit governs the whole, and the result is that there is more falsehood, in its various phases and degrees, uttered and felt by every speaker, and on both sides, than occurs in any six weeks of ordinary life! The Chinese are bepraised as innocents, as saints, as patterns of softness, purity, genius, docility, honour—as specimens of what men and nations should be. Does any one being, in either House, believe a ten-millionth fraction of all this? Does any one believe that if J. Russell had been in government, he would not have said the very reverse of what he did say last night? Does any one doubt the same of Derby? And does any one believe that, if the members of the Government (instead of

being where they are) had been in Opposition, they would not have done and said what has been said and done by Derby and J. Russell? Public life is intolerable and disgusting (yet how much worse in America!). 'Truth and justice, religion and piety,' for which we pray, have no more share in these concerns than the mines of Golconda in the manufacture of green cheese.

It is a painful question. The Chinese are, doubtless, insolent, irritating, aggressive, and false. We, on the other hand, give abundant provocation in the pertinacity and outrage of our opium smuggling. In the present case (I voted with Government in this sense) we had law and right on our side in the matter of the lorcha; and, even had the right been less clear, the vote proposed—a vote of censure—was extreme. Derby did, so far, good service in bringing many improprieties before the public view; but he gave a signal proof how good things may be done from wrong motives. A more self-seeking, unreal partisan movement was never made.

The debate proceeded for three nights, and on the fourth Lord Palmerston defended the conduct of the Government, and avowed his intention to treat the vote as one of "no confidence."

March 4th.—Government defeated last night on China question by majority of 16. A sad result. Right or wrong, the Government must be supported to bring these matters to a satisfactory close; but now they are crippled in the eyes of the Chinese, and apparently detached from the basis of the country. Such a coalition was, perhaps, never before seen or imagined. Cobden, D'Israeli, and Gladstone, all combined to turn out Palmerston, and obtain office. J. Russell, ever selfish, came as an unit to the confederacy.

I did not expect it. Hoped and believed that God, having employed P. as an instrument for good, would maintain him. But His ways are inscrutable. To my own influence over future Ecclesiastical appointments (should Palmerston continue in power), I foresee the termination. They will say that my advice led him to the nomination of the several clergymen; that this exasperated Gladstone, and gave rise to the effort and the coalition; and that Derby's party, many of whom had professed a resolution to keep Palmerston

in office, had deserted him and their promises: that, in short, my counsel had done more harm than good. And yet, has he not prodigious strength in the country? Has he not acquired, by this means, a popularity such as no minister has heretofore enjoyed?

It will be remembered that after the Opium War of 1840-2, Lord Ashley brought before Parliament the whole question of the opium trade, with a view to putting an end to the traffic in this drug as a means of revenue for our Indian empire.* Those efforts were not successful in attaining the desired end, although they served to inaugurate a standing protest against the iniquity of the system. Meanwhile, the arrangements consequent upon the Treaty of Nankin, made smuggling easier than ever. The Chinese saw that they dared not put in force the laws against the importation of opium. The scum and refuse of Europe and Asia hovered about the Chinese waters, or domiciled at Hong Kong as British citizens. Any lawless Chinese could take up his residence there, and procure a colonial register, with liberty to use the British flag.

Long before the boarding of the pseudo-British, but in reality Chinese, lorcha *Arrow*, by Commissioner Yeh, which brought about the war of 1856-7, Lord Shaftesbury had determined to again attack the Opium question by a motion in the House of Lords for taking the opinion of the judges as to its legality. He refers to the subject thus:—

March 8th.—Some time ago gave notice of Opium question; delayed it, first, to acquire information; then, to obtain the legal

* See Vol. I., page 465.

questions as drawn up, for submission to the judges, by Rochfort Clarke. Debate on China arose; defeat of ministers and public confusion. Derby, evidently hoping to catch me in a collusion with the Government, asked me in the House whether I intended to proceed; I answered 'Yes,' explained the cause of delay, and promised to lay my questions on the table, which I did last Friday.

Granville on Thursday, after my statement, privately objected to my taking my course in the matter, urging that I should embarrass the Government, raise inconvenient debate, and do much mischief. I replied that the belief of 'collusion for electioneering purposes' would do ten times more harm, and that withdrawal on my part was simply impossible. Having returned home, wrote him a letter, saying that if he would, as Minister of the Crown, state in the House of Lords that the discussion would be detrimental to affairs in China, I would put it off. Saw him in evening at House of Lords; he objected to make such an appeal, but offered to grant my motion if, in making it, I would keep to legal points. I agreed, and he pledged himself to that course.

On the 9th of March, Lord Shaftesbury brought forward his motion. He denounced the system as "one of the most flagitious instances of unscrupulousness in the pursuit of wealth, that mankind had ever witnessed, . . . in every point of view scandalous and perilous." He set forth its evils from the commercial, the financial, and the political point of view, and commented on its immorality as disgraceful to the character of England, and inimical to the spread of Christianity. Successive Governments and Parliaments had tolerated these things, but "there was a growing sentiment in the country," he said, "that the traffic was altogether illegal, and was not only inconsistent with statute law, but was in direct contravention to the law of the realm." He wished this point settled, therefore, because, if the

judges declared it illegal, it would be for Parliament to devise a remedy; if they declared it legal, "he should have an entirely new starting-point, and he could then appeal to the people of England to consider this great national sin that had reduced our character and restricted our operations, and brought the name of the British people upon the south-east coast of China, to a level in morals and conduct with the old detestable buccaneers of America." He moved that the opinion of the judges be taken on the two points: first, whether it was lawful for the East India Company to derive a revenue from the opium monopoly; and, secondly, whether it was lawful for them to sell the opium for the direct purpose of being smuggled into a friendly country.

After some debate, the motion was withdrawn on the understanding that the Government would take the opinion of the law officers of the Crown on the matter.

Meanwhile, Palmerston had advised her Majesty to dissolve Parliament at the earliest period consistent with the due discharge of public business.

March 9th.—Dissolution received with zeal and favour towards Palmerston, such as no one ventured to anticipate. It is rather like an explosion, than an exhibition, of feeling. Thus far I rejoice, and take courage; but I have my distrust, and tremble for subsidence and reaction. The delay, too, the inevitable delay, before the issue of the writs, and consequent continuance of the Parliamentary sittings, are very prejudicial.

P.'s popularity is wonderful—strange to say, the whole turns on his name. There seems to be no measure, no principle, no cry, to influence men's minds and determine elections; it is simply, 'Were you, or were you not? are you, or are you not, for Palmerston?'

This is not safe nor trustworthy ; the sooner we come to a close the better.

Palmerston's health is not so vigorous as it was, and years aggravate the disorder. At this moment he is suffering from gout, which he cannot shake off, while the demands on his time and attention are severe.

In the General Election that ensued, Lord Shaftesbury's eldest son became a candidate for the representation of Hull. The result of his candidature is told as follows :—

March 28th.—Intelligence of Accy's election :—

Clay	...	2,365.
Accy	...	2,353.
Compton	...	1,392.
Seymour	...	434.

And all this without a bribe, treating, or any illicit inducement. His success is wonderful, and is of God's goodness. May it be sanctified to him. May it be the beginning of a career noble, patriotic, useful, religious, to his Master's honour and man's welfare. Evelyn there ; of great service, a first-rate canvasser ; showed every quality of a clever, energetic man of business. God protect him and all of them.

At a public dinner given to Lord Ashley to celebrate his return as member for Hull, Lord Shaftesbury was present, and in reply to a vote of thanks for his attendance, he thanked the citizens for the generous kindness they had exhibited to his son.

You have taken that youth by the hand and started him in the race of life with every hope, I believe, of usefulness and honour. It cannot but be matter of deep emotion that I should now see my son, in his earliest years, placed in that position where many men have terminated their career : that I see him commencing life in the

highest situation that British freemen can confer upon their fellow-citizens: that I see him, young and inexperienced, entrusted with mighty interests: that I see him the member of the third sea-port in the kingdom.

In the course of a long speech, in which he dwelt upon the circumstances of the election, especially its freedom from bribery and corruption, he said that this was the consummation of much that he had looked for, prayed for, laboured for in his life, but had never dared to hope that he should see the completion of it in the election of his own son. Towards the close of his speech, he took his audience into his confidence in the following item of family history.

Now, gentlemen, I am going to take credit to myself and my boy that we are Yorkshiremen. I was not born in Yorkshire, yet I rejoice to say that I have a small Yorkshire property, and that at no distance from here, but I claim the right to be considered a Yorkshireman from this, that when my father married, it was the only worldly possession he had of any sort or kind. By this he was enabled to marry my mother, and hence the son who has now the honour of addressing you.

The result of the General Election was a large Liberal majority, and the triumphant return of Lord Palmerston as First Minister of the Crown.

On May the 14th, soon after the assembling of the new Parliament, Lord Shaftesbury returned to the Opium Question. In reply to his question as to the legality of the sale of opium in India, the Lord Chancellor said a case had been drawn up by the legal advisers of the Board of Control, and was about to be submitted to the law officers of the Crown.

It was not until the 24th of August that the opinion of the law officers was presented. It was to the following effect: that there was no illegality in the cultivation or sale of opium by the East India Company; and that, as regarded the trade, it was no violation of the Treaty, but, as some doubts existed as to whether it was not contrary to the spirit of the Treaty, it would be expedient to introduce some change, so as to avoid remonstrances that might possibly be made.*

For the present, nothing further could be done, but Lord Shaftesbury resolved that in the following year he would again bring the whole question of the opium trade before Parliament. India, however, came before the House in connection with its transfer from the East India Company to the Crown, and minor details of administration naturally fell into the background. When the Government of India Bill was passed, and Indian affairs became administered directly by the Home Government, it was needful that time should be given for the due adjustment of the altered relations, and the opium trade, among other Parliamentary questions, was for a time kept in abeyance.

That difficult question still remains unsettled. Lord Shaftesbury never ceased to denounce the traffic as infamous, and never lost an opportunity to call public attention to it as indefensible on political, moral, religious, and social grounds. He remained President of the Anti-Opium League to the end of his life, and

* Hansard, 3 s., cxlv. 249, cxlvi. 107, cxlvii. 1884, 2003.

one of his last vigorous speeches was made when presiding at its anniversary meeting.

Any effort that had for its object the preaching of the Gospel to the masses, was sure to command the warmest sympathy of Lord Shaftesbury; and in the spring of 1857 we find him rejoicing over the commencement of a series of Special Religious Services in Exeter Hall, on Sunday evenings.

May 31st.—Sunday. One event I must recall, and a Sunday event, too. Last Sunday a glorious triumph for religion and the Church of England. Ah, blessed be God! a splendid proof of the use and value of the Religious Worship Act passed two years ago! Under the powers of this Act, in Exeter Hall, an evening service was conducted by the Bishop of Carlisle in full canonicals, for the benefit of all comers, especially the working classes, who 'were not habitual Church or Chapel goers:' such was the advertisement.

An attendance of more than three thousand—order, decency, attention, and even devotion. They sang well and lustily, and repeated the responses to the Litany (the only part of the Liturgy used) with regularity and earnestness. Villiers preached the sermon, on 'What saith the Scripture?' practical, pious, affectionate, true; delivered with dignity and power, and deeply impressive. During the service, and when we retired, we felt the presiding hand and goodness of God, and openly and secretly gave Him thanks.

Many have been the proofs that we have had of happy fruits: of persons attending who never in their lives before had been in any place of public worship.

Another service this evening. Cadman officiating. Fuller than before; hundreds sent away. Equally prosperous. God is manifestly with us, and with discourses such as these. Cadman preached like an Evangelist.

Abundant success attended these Services; thousands were present every Sunday evening, and testi-

mony was borne from all quarters that a large class of persons was being reached by this means, who were unaccustomed to be present at any of the ordinary ministrations of the Church. It was a movement that exactly met the need of the times; it had the sanction of the Bishop of London (Dr. Tait), and of the incumbent of the parish in which Exeter Hall was situate, and it fulfilled, it was believed, all the requirements of the Religious Worship Act of 1855: it was designed to bring the clergy and the people more closely together, and to remove the impression that the clergy were "only gentlemen who wore black coats and received large salaries"; it appealed especially to the working classes, and was adapted to meet their prejudices by providing that there should be no distinction of persons, no reserved seats, no collections, and, in short, that every one who came, no matter how humble he might be, should be dealt with upon precisely the same footing as if he were the first man in the land.

Twelve Services were held, and towards the end, notwithstanding the heat of the weather, five thousand eager listeners thronged the Hall and half as many more were sent away every week, for want of room. The Services were then discontinued, and arrangements were made for their re-commencement in the month of October. But, a short time before they were to be re-commenced, an inhibition was issued by the incumbent of the parish to the minister who was to have officiated at the re-opening.

That minister, fearing to commit a breach of the

law, declined to hold the Service; the committee was called together, and, although Lord Shaftesbury, doubting the legality of the inhibition, urged the continuation of the Special Services, his judgment was overruled, and the Services were stopped.

Application was then made for the use of St. Martin's Hall, but the incumbent of that parish, although approving the Services, announced his intention to issue an inhibition against their being held within his parish.

In these circumstances, as the incumbent of the Strand district persevered in his inhibition, the Nonconformists stepped in, and to the manner in which they acted at this juncture, Lord Shaftesbury bore high testimony.

To the members of the Nonconformist body, we owe a debt of gratitude for the manner in which our places have been supplied. They have, in this instance, acted with a delicacy and a forbearance which redound infinitely to their credit. They declined to engage Exeter Hall until they had ascertained that it would be quite impossible for us to renew our Services, and, having taken the Hall, they offered to give it up at any moment we might desire. They also, that they might not seem to do anything by way of foil or contrast to us, adopted, most minutely, forms of the service which we had instituted. They selected the hymns which we used to have sung, and the officiating minister read a lesson and a portion of the Litany of the Church of England, while in his discourse he never, either directly or indirectly, alluded to the difficulties under which the Church of England was placed, or to the freedom of the party to which he belonged, or to the manner in which that body had come forward to follow in our footsteps.*

* Speech in House of Lords, Dec. 8, 1857.

Meanwhile, a great stir had been created, and in the uncertain state of the law on the subject, Lord Shaftesbury gave notice of a motion to amend the Religious Worship Act of 1855, and adapt it to meet the exigencies, not only of the present case, but of any similar case that might arise in the future. The High Church party prepared themselves for a strenuous opposition; almost every other section of the Church was in sympathy with the movement. It was curious to find how, with this one exception, all shades of opinion were united in favour of an alteration of the law. We will only quote from one of many letters received by Lord Shaftesbury upon the subject, and we do so because the writer was Dr. Rowland Williams:—

The Rev. Rowland Williams, D.D., to Lord Shaftesbury.

ST. DAVID'S COLLEGE, LAMPETER, *Dec.* 7, 1857.

MY LORD,—I have not always the happiness to agree with your lordship in everything, and even in cases where I conceived myself to do so, might still hardly obtain the honour of your approval.

But we must agree in *wishing the word of God to have free course*, and not to be fettered by setting the form above the work.

Hence I wish and entreat your lordship to persevere in any measure which may prevent a parochial *charge* for the health of men's souls from being turned into a territorial *dominion* to impede their being taught.

Nor is the irresponsible character of the *impeding* power claimed by some of the clergy, and still more by the bishops, a thing which we ought to overlook.

[He then cites a number of cases in point, and continues.]

I am aware the Church, like the world, must be governed; and I do not know that bishops are worse than other men would be in their places.

But all irresponsible power requires watching. It is the business of the laity, as vigilant lookers-on, to see that the inferior clergy have fair play from the higher, and that their flocks have it from all of them.

And, although the 'parochial system' is 'admirable' as a ministration of teaching, it never ought to become a prohibitive dominion. Else it would defeat its own proper object.

I wish your lordship, therefore, the grace of perseverance and the blessing of success, in any measures tending in the direction of Christian freedom, by which either the truth may have free way, or the inferior clergy fair play, or the poor have the Gospel preached to them.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your very obedient servant,

ROWLAND WILLIAMS, D.D.

P.S.—Might not *either* the bishop's sanction, *or* the incumbent's permission, serve to legalise any free service, where neither the personal characters of the ministrants nor the doctrine preached were decidedly objectionable?

On the motion for the second reading of his Bill, entitled the "Religious Worship Act Amendment Bill," Lord Shaftesbury went fully into the history of the case, and having set forth its peculiar hardships and incongruities, continued thus:—

Without affirming or denying the power of inhibition, I assume that it exists; and I propose that this power of inhibition shall not extend to parishes or districts, the population of which, by the last preceding census, exceeded 2,000. In parishes with a population of less than 2,000 the clergyman may say: 'We are perfectly competent to manage our own parishes; we don't want any sort of assistance; the whole thing is entirely within our grasp;' and in those cases I think the parochial system may be continued. This provision will exclude from the operation of the Bill a great number

of country parishes where the clergymen are capable of discharging their parochial duties, and really do perform them. I think the power of inhibition should not, however, extend to parishes where the population exceeds 2,000 souls. I then propose that this power of inhibition, which may, in some instances, be wise and necessary, should be exercised under prominent responsibility, and the Bill provides that such inhibition shall not be valid unless it be sanctioned by the Bishop of the diocese, who will be the judge of the necessity either of admitting or rejecting any clergyman of the Church of England who may come into a parish. The responsibility ought, in my opinion, to rest upon the Bishop, because he can take a large view of the necessities of his diocese, and will not be influenced by motives of interest in regarding the condition of its various districts. I further propose to limit the Bill entirely to the occasional services held under the Act commonly called the 'Liberty of Religious Worship Act.' I provide that the power of inhibition shall be limited to 'any congregation or assembly occasionally meeting for religious worship in any building or buildings not usually appropriated to purposes of religious worship.' I think your lordships will see, therefore, that I have asked no more than is absolutely necessary. I propose to legislate only for an evil that has arisen, and to leave the parochial system untouched wherever it is unnecessary to interfere with it. I have only proposed such a measure as will enable hundreds and thousands and tens of thousands to meet in places not ordinarily appropriated to religious worship, where they may receive the teaching of ordained clergymen. On Sunday last I attended one of the services conducted by Nonconformists, and the hall was thronged, principally by members of the working classes, who were most devout and attentive. I confess that, as I walked away, I was almost overwhelmed with shame to think that the Church of England alone was excluded from holding such services; that the Church of England alone, which is constituted the Church of the realm, and to which such a duty is peculiarly assigned, should be the only body, among believers or unbelievers, which is not allowed to open a hall with the view of giving instruction to the people.

The proposed addition of a clause to the Religious Worship Act—for such was to all intents and purposes

the scope of the new Bill—met with very strong opposition from Bishop Wilberforce and the section of the Church he represented. It was in consequence of a statement made by him, to the effect that a large majority of the bishops urged a postponement of the second reading, that Lord Shaftesbury concluded by moving that the Bill be read a second time on the 8th of February.

The best testimony, as the *Times* observed, to the strength of the argument in favour of the new clause, was given in the extraordinary feebleness of the speeches of opponents. The Bishop of Oxford, being uncertain "whether or not he should give his assent to the noble Earl's principle;" the Earl of Derby being "quite aware of the necessity of adopting some measures in order to remedy those defects," but "not pretending to have made up his mind what course should be adopted"; and the Bishop of St. David's, "not committing himself in any way to an opinion on either side," nevertheless combined, at first, to put stumbling-blocks in the way of Lord Shaftesbury's progress with his Bill, and eventually to unite in a strong opposition.

The measure, mild as it was, called forth "an immense amount of sacerdotalism, even among the Evangelical clergy." The laity went heartily with Lord Shaftesbury; the clergy, with few exceptions, were either openly or secretly against him. In this state of affairs the Archbishop of Canterbury, on the 5th of February, introduced a Bill for legalising Special Services in unconsecrated buildings, in connection with

the Church of England, the main feature of which was to secure more power for the bishops than Lord Shaftesbury's Bill proposed, by making their sanction necessary. On the 9th of February, as twenty-four bishops were reported to be unanimous against his Bill, Lord Shaftesbury withdrew it in favour of the Bill introduced by the Archbishop, which ultimately became law.

Referring to the meeting at which this unanimity was obtained, the Bishop of Oxford wrote:—"The bishops have been sitting in conclave for hours, which certainly consumes much time — our wild elephants seem every now and then a little tamed, and—if the 'Bishop-Maker' were dethroned by the fall of Pam—might, I think, become manageable. At present it is sad work. Such ignorance of first principles!" *

In the summer of 1857, the serious intelligence was received from India of a succession of mutinies issuing in the occupation of Delhi by the insurgent regiments, and the wholesale massacre of Europeans. A thrill of horror ran through the country as, day by day, and almost hour by hour, the particulars, some of them grossly exaggerated, were made known.

On the day when the first startling intelligence of the outbreak was received, Lord Shaftesbury wrote in his Diary:—

June 27th.—What, whence, is it? I regard it as the dying effort of Brahminism, which is visibly, palpably, declining; all its remaining strength is excited and concentrated for one final struggle.

* Letter to the Hon. A. Gordon, quoted in "Life of Bishop Wilberforce," by his Son, Vol. ii., p. 376.

But God help us, and maintain His own work! The events will be ascribed to the evil effects of the Missions; and, for awhile, the conviction will prevail. *Sursum corda, sursum corda*, for 'the cause' of God's truth and the safety of the Empire!

Throughout the duration of the mutiny Lord Shaftesbury, in a special volume devoted to the subject, noted down from day to day his thoughts, feelings, and opinions in relation to Indian affairs. From this volume we do not propose to quote. That sad and awful chapter in history has been written again and again. We shall confine our quotations, therefore, to the private journal in which his own actions are referred to, and from this but briefly.

August 22nd.—Spoke last night, and denounced the idolatrous homage paid to Brahminical caste by the system of Bengal levies.

August 29th.—Spa. Number and variety of things to be prayed for: that He will quell the mutiny and give us a speedy victory; that He will make this outbreak the commencement of a new order of things; of a wiser and more vigorous government; of justice and judgment; of greater knowledge and greater zeal for man's real good; of fresh openings for the advance of the Gospel; of enlarged missionary operations; of increased opportunity to promote and invite the Second Advent.

That He will protect, shelter, and deliver from their unspeakably ferocious enemies, the helpless women and children outraged, tortured, murdered by the incarnate fiends of Hindostan.

That He will abate the suffering of our troops already in the field, supply their wants, give them repose, sustain their courage; that He will hide, in the hollow of His hand, those now going out to India, and console the wives, the mothers, the children, that are left behind in sorrow and anxiety.

Ah God, it is heartrending to remember these things, and yet there is talk of larger reinforcements from England. Wrote yesterday to Panmure, Palmerston, V. Smith, and Mangles, to counsel

the levy of African regiments. The Africans are eager for employment, they make first-rate soldiers, would bear the Indian climate, and have no fraternisation with the natives. Cheaper, too, by far. Ardently do I pray that this plan may be adopted. What a lift also to the nigger! and what a blow to the slave trade!

Lord Shaftesbury to the Hon. Evelyn Ashley.

SPA, *Sept. 3rd*, 1857.

DEAR EVELYN,—You have, no one will question it, many perfections; but that of a 'tolerable' correspondent is not included among them. Probably the children have told you of our safe arrival. Though we have been here less than a week, we have already derived benefit from the air and the waters—they suit us better than any that we have yet taken; and I rejoice both in capital walking trim and a good appetite. The intelligence from India, though it fills me with horror, gives me no alarm. Could I set aside, forget, or cancel the unspeakable atrocities perpetrated on the women and children, I should rejoice in the event. We have acquired a power and a *right*, by the mutiny of these Sepoys, that we should never have obtained had they continued loyal, and a means of effecting reforms that, in other circumstances, would either have been impossible, or have cost us years of delay. This outbreak presents a new picture in the history of mankind—you may find abundant precedents for the *massacre* of women and children, but you will find none for the deliberate, sensual, gloating satisfaction of these fiends incarnate in the prolonged and refined suffering of babies. Day and night I think of these things—what a worse than devil is man unsoftened by Christianity and left to himself! But the conduct of the British, collectively and individually, in this awful crisis, has been supernatural. Every one, male, female, infant, civilian, soldier, has exhibited an amount of coolness, judgment, patriotism, and intrepidity that fills me with wonder; heartily do I bless God that He has so strengthened and supported our people in this just cause. You have heard, I conclude, from your sisters at St. Leonards. We purpose, God willing, to return by the last week of this month; the Saint is open to you, should your sojourn in Wales be over before we are back.

May God bless you! S.

On the 30th October a meeting was held at Wimborne Minster, Dorset, in aid of the fund being raised for the relief of the sufferers by the mutinies in India. Lord Shaftesbury presided, and his speech on that occasion was one of the most remarkable ever delivered by him.

After briefly, but vividly, describing the nature of the atrocities committed, he proceeded :—

Well, now bear this in mind, the retribution that follows upon these crimes must be equal to the nature and extent of the crimes themselves. I maintain that justice, pure, simple justice, demands we should exact of these men that compensation which is due to that crime unparalleled in the history of mankind. We do not seek for revenge. God forbid that the word should be used in our declamation! And God forbid that the sentiment should enter into our hearts! But there is such a thing as justice, and there is such a thing as a sense of justice imprinted upon the human heart by the hand of God Himself; and, although no private individual may take private justice into his hands, yet the sword is given to the rulers of a State, and that sword is to be exercised to maintain order and to execute the decrees of God against those who so wantonly have shed the blood of their fellows. Justice, I hold, must be satisfied; every principle of policy and every principle of religion require it; it is your policy—and the greatest policy in the sense of humanity—that justice should be fully exercised. If you do not exercise justice in this particular, I maintain that the tenure of India, and the great advantages that must result from it to those many millions of the human race—all that tenure of India and all those advantages—will become utterly impossible. The Europeans must, of necessity, live isolated from one another. You cannot have every European officer guarded by a body of European troops; you must invest him with all that authority, with all that force, which belongs to the great power of the British Empire, when it is known that she will protect the very poorest of her subjects in all his rights, and in the discharge of the duty he is called upon to fulfil for the behoof of his country,

and in obedience to his Queen. Again, I maintain that, in the sense of humanity, justice, complete justice, must be done to the full, if it be only to check the feeling that is rapidly growing up—and how can you wonder at it?—among Europeans in India. If the Government of that country should leave the Europeans to believe that justice has not been done, and will not be done, upon the perpetrators of these enormous crimes, depend upon it, private justice and individual action will take the place of public justice and public action. Read the order of that noble soldier and gallant Christian, Brigadier-General Wilson, to whom has been confided the command of the troops around Delhi, and to whom was entrusted the honour of conducting the assault upon that devoted town. Mark the words of that brave man! Here is an extract from his general order:—'He need hardly remind the troops of the cruel murders committed on their officers and comrades, as well as their wives and children, to move them in the deadly struggle. No quarter should be given to the mutineers.' Is there a man living who will not assent to that proposition? 'At the same time, for the sake of humanity and the honour of the country which they belong to, he calls upon them to spare the women and children that may come in their way.' I confess that when, ladies and gentlemen, I read that general order I was almost moved to tears in deep thankfulness to Almighty God that He had raised up such a man, and put such a sentiment into his heart, upon such an occasion; and I do also rejoice that those noble fellows under his command, notwithstanding their exasperation, notwithstanding the fury of the assault, listened to the request.

After combating the idea that the origin of the insurrection was due to religious motives, or that the prestige of England had passed away, he continues:—

But now, before we close, we must come to this consideration, what is to be the result of all this great success with which it has pleased Providence to bless our arms? Are we to stop short here and be satisfied with victory, and not improve that victory and turn it to the best account for the benefit of man and for the honour of God? God forbid that we should not see in this the most blessed opportunity that was ever offered to man, or to a nation, to do

great good in that generation in which they live, and to the generations which may come after them! Gentlemen, setting aside the horrors of the event, I could rejoice in it as the greatest that has yet occurred for the benefit of civilisation since we first planted our feet in the territories of the East. I trust that we shall begin by showing to the natives of India that, although they sought our injury, we will seek their good;. I trust we shall show that, having executed justice upon the culprits, everything shall be forgotten, and that our sole labour shall be to do all that we can to advance their temporal and eternal interests; I trust that this will be the beginning of a new order of things, of freedom, of judgment, of knowledge, of good government for all those mighty myriads confided to our care. But we have a far higher consideration than that, to which we, one and all—from the Queen upon the throne to the ragged boy who sweeps the crossing,—must direct our attention and our prayers. We must now enter upon a bolder, a truer, and more Christian course; we must come forward in the plainest, simplest, and most open manner to declare that the Government of India is a Christian Government, that it rests upon Christian principles, that it has Christian views, and that it will go forward in Christian action. Simultaneously with that, the Government must declare that it will never, directly or indirectly—either by itself or by others—use force or bribery, or any illicit mode whatsoever in order to turn the natives from their faith. You must give to them precisely the same rights and liberties in matters religious, that you claim for yourselves. If you claim—which you will claim, I trust—that the Government of India, declaring itself to be a Christian Government, will also declare that it will give all due countenance and protection to its co-religionists—the Christian missionaries; you will also declare, and call upon the Government to declare, that they will allow to the Hindoos and to the Mahometans precisely the same liberty that they claim for themselves. Your conduct must be based upon Christian principles; everything that you do must be in Christian character to a Christian end. Are we to be scared from this great duty that is confided to our charge? Are we to be scared by a few bugbears that are raised up, telling us that if we do this we shall disaffect the natives on one side and disaffect the natives on the other side? And what have we gained by a time-serving forbearance? We began by every encouragement to their filthy practices.

Our police kept the ground at the horrid rites of the goddess Kali; our tax-gatherers collected the tolls of iniquity at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna; Juggernaut, when it crushed its hundreds of victims, was decked with flags and bunting from the warehouses of the East India Company. This has ceased; and we have tried the experiment of choking our faith; with what result? Why, if we had ravaged the country with fire and sword to make proselytes, if we had shed as much blood as Nadir Shah, could we have excited a more savage rebellion, a more awful insurrection, than this which has been wrought by these fondled and ungrateful Sepoys.

In his Diary, Lord Shaftesbury refers to the occasion and to the speech in these terms:—

Nov. 3rd (St. Giles's).—On Friday last (Oct. 30th) meeting at Wimborne for Indian Relief Fund. Myself in chair. Spoke for an hour. People seemed convinced. Sorry that some points of great importance (as I thought) were omitted in the *Dorset County Express* (the best), and the omissions further increased when recorded in the *Times*. Urged, as Venn and Arthur had stirred me, the duty of Christian development in India; specially memorials to Queen and Parliament, stating that we would not, as a free people, consent to hold our Empire in the East on any other tenure.

The *Times*, in an able article commenting upon the speech, said:—"On a subject like the Indian Mutiny, on which everybody has been expressing himself for months in almost the same words, genuine heart alone can speak with freshness. In the hardening process of repetition we lose the edge of our feeling; even the greatest horrors, by being perpetually brought before us, become matters of course, and we find ourselves unable to recover our first strong impressions, except somebody renews them for us by the force of a

more retentive, realising, sympathy. Lord Shaftesbury's speech reads as if the news of the Indian outrages had only reached us yesterday, and he were giving his very first impressions. Yet there is nothing extravagant or unguarded in his style. Nothing can be more just and moderate than what he says about punishment, and we are glad that he has called attention to that part of General Wilson's address to the troops. How simple and just is General Wilson's settlement of this question, 'No quarter to the mutineers; spare the women and children!' This is the proper, natural, combination of justice and mercy."

A statement made by Lord Shaftesbury in the course of his speech, called forth some months afterwards a sharp and bitter controversy. He refers to it thus:—

March 28th, 1858 (Sunday).—An unhappy mention of the name of Lady Canning, in a speech at Wimborne, had brought upon me a world of troubles. They were dormant until 3rd Feb., although the speech was delivered at the end of October, but they have harassed me ever since, and they have this day (notwithstanding it ought to be a day of comfort and repose) gained a head; yesterday opening one battery, and to-day, I am told, another in the *Saturday Review* and the *Sunday Observer*. The parties who began, treated me as a wilful misrepresenter of Lady Canning; the parties who continue it, endeavour to prove that I am bloodthirsty and false, a savage and a liar.

The speech, reprinted from the *verbatim* report, and in which the passage relating to "the highest lady now in India" remained intact, was forwarded by Lord Shaftesbury to Lady Canning, whose reply in acknowledgment was as follows:—

Lady Canning to Lord Shaftesbury.

BANGALORE, *June* 28, 1858.

MY DEAR LORD SHAFTESBURY,—I have still a few minutes before the departure of the post, and I must write you a line to say how much pleasure your admirable speech has given me.

It is a very great comfort in such anxious and troubled times to find that the cause, in which one is so deeply interested, is so ably and heartily defended, and that such just indignation is felt for the extraordinary and unexpected attack from the side from which only support ought to come. Unless, indeed, recall was deserved.

I have done little for several days but read the debates, and the impression remaining on my mind is of far more satisfaction at finding so many good minds standing up for the honesty and good fame of Lord Canning's conduct of affairs in all his difficulties, than of pain at the hostility of others. I could hardly mind this bitterness much, for they nearly all reason upon distorted facts or on quite false grounds.

I think you will be glad to hear he remains here steadily carrying on his own policy, and the Government can remove him if they do not approve. He seems never to have had a moment's doubt as to the course he thought right, and saw it as clear as day. I am very glad of this, and I am sure it must be the best for this country.

Your name and mine I have seen constantly dragged into a controversy. I believe the truth must come out at last, and, meanwhile, I am sure you must believe how earnestly I have wished it to be looked for, and that every possible kindness and relief should be given in every way to the sufferers in these dreadful times. I am sure you will have found it nearly hopeless to get at the truth of Indian stories in England. In Calcutta it is not easy, but I am sure you may trust the information you received from the hard-working and very kind people belonging to the Relief Committee.

If there is any truth in the stories I read from England, I think they must relate to persons who returned to England by the Bombay side, of whom I have no knowledge.

I cannot tell you how much delight your speech gave me, and I hope you will forgive me for thanking you for it in such haste.

I am on my way back to Calcutta from the Hills. Very glad to be soon within reach of letters again, for it was much too far out of the way.

Lord Canning had a bad attack of fever, but I have now excellent accounts of him, and even Lord Ellenborough did not give him a relapse.

Pray give my love to Lady Shaftesbury and Lady Jocelyn. I hope her boy is well again and all your children prosperous, especially my god-child.

Yours very sincerely,

C. CANNING.

"Evil reports die hard," as the following entry, written fifteen years later, will show :—

Nov. 5th, 1873.—In *Bee-Hive* of last Saturday, Professor Beesly has revived the old story of the Indian mutilations, some fifteen years ago. I then admitted an inaccuracy in the heat of speaking, which I corrected in the papers the moment I saw it, and *before* I was attacked. I now see where, in giving an explanation, I made a mistake. I should have stated more than I did. I should have stated the case thus: 'A few days before I spoke, a lady whom I know very well, said to me, 'I am just come from ———, and I was present when the lady of the house read a letter from Lady Canning, in which she spoke of the many and fearful mutilations." So it was; Miss Lindsay was my informant, Eastnor Castle the place, and Lady Somers the person to whom the letter was written. God deliver me from my enemies, for they are too strong for me!

There was one result of the great revolt in India which made a strong impression upon Lord Shaftesbury—namely, that it opened up a wide and noble field for Christian enterprise, on which all the great Evangelical societies seemed to be eager to enter. Never before, perhaps, at any great crisis had these Societies banded together, with minor differences forgotten, all

united in one great object, all animated by one great hope, all combined in one great and glorious work. Throughout this anxious period, when the past and the future of English dominion in India were in question, he lost no opportunity of urging upon these Societies, and upon individuals, the necessity of sending forth missionaries, copies of the Bible, catechists, teachers, and of having recourse to every form of effort and organisation available for maintaining the strongholds in the possession of Christian agents in India, and of assailing the strongholds of the enemy.

Frequently, in the course of the many speeches he made at this crisis, he paid glowing tributes to those Christian heroes who were performing such noble deeds for God and country in India. Thus, at the Bible Society meeting, in 1858, he referred to Sir Henry Lawrence and Sir Henry Havelock in these words:—

> Who were the men that first checked the awful career of mutiny and rebellion? Let us consider the character of these men, their habits, their expressions, their bearing. Were they men of the ordinary stamp—mere men of the world—men who were conversant only with the duties of their profession? Who was the man that first, by the vigour of his intellect, the force of his heart, the depth of his principles, the extent of his knowledge, the resolution of his whole character, gave a great and, as it turned out ultimately, effective check to the rebellion? Was it not that great man: the greatest perhaps that India has produced, the greatest, regarded as a compound of the Statesman and the Christian—a man as remarkable for vigour in action as for gentleness of soul—was it not, I say, that great and good man, now gone to his rest, and whose name I can never utter without the deepest emotion and reverence, Sir Henry Lawrence?
>
> Again, who was the man that, by deeds unparalleled in history,

by a heroism peculiarly his own—a heroism which he was able to infuse into the handful of men under his command, so that they stood undismayed in the presence of many thousands of the enemy armed to the teeth; who was it, I say, that put a final check to the progress of those awful disorders, those terrible calamities in India? Was it not that preaching, praying, psalm-singing man Sir Henry Havelock! Well did the Right Rev. Prelate, now on my right, the respected diocesan of this great metropolis, liken that band of heroes to the Puritans of old, and draw the attention of those who heard him to the fact which is now so completely established, that psalm-singing is not inconsistent with heroism, nor prayer incompatible with the truest courage and the discharge of the highest duties.

The most conspicuous part taken by Lord Shaftesbury in Indian affairs during this crisis, was in moving a vote of censure against the Government for their Indian policy. Lord Canning, as Governor-General of India, issued a proclamation to the chiefs and people of Oude, by which the property of the Talookdars—or native landed proprietors of Oude—who had not made their submission to the English authorities, was confiscated. This proclamation was disapproved by the Government of Lord Derby. Lord Ellenborough, as President of the Board of Control, thereupon issued his famous despatch, in which, although the strife in India was scarcely over, he censured the Governor-General in unmeasured terms for the harshness of his repressive measures in Oude; condemned his proclamation in the strongest language, and, as it was conceived, sought to pacify the natives by humiliating the Executive. It was an attempt to weaken the hands of the Viceroy, at the moment when he required the fullest use of his powers: it would have been a dictatorial proceeding

had the whole of the facts that gave rise to the proclamation, or the motives of the Governor-General, been fully known; but it was altogether unwarrantable in the present state of information; it was, moreover, couched in terms which no statesman should have used to another at any time; and it was doubly injudicious in the present crisis, as tending to weaken the authority of the Governor-General and encourage the resistance of those who were in arms against us.

There was great indignation throughout the country. The question was taken up at once in both Houses of Parliament and votes of censure were moved.

In the Lords, the vote of censure was moved by Lord Shaftesbury. The anticipated debate excited unusual interest. Long before admission to the House could be gained, its approaches were thronged by "strangers" who had obtained, or who hoped to obtain, the privilege of the *entrée*. The space in front of the Throne, appropriated to the sons of peers and persons of distinction, was fully occupied soon after the Lord Chancellor had taken his seat, and the space below the bar was also crowded. "The scene," said the *Times*, "was altogether one of the most brilliant and animated that has ever been witnessed on the occasion of a debate." The scene in the House of Commons has been brilliantly described by M. de Montalembert in his celebrated pamphlet, "Un Débat sur l'Inde au Parlement Anglais."

Lord Shaftesbury had been a Conservative upon principle and a member of two Tory Governments,

but he had never been a party man at any time of his life, and was even less so now than ever. Although, on the occasion to which we refer, he was speaking from the Opposition benches—for he always occupied the same place, and never crossed over on any change of Government—he began his speech with this apparent anomaly: "Whatever political sympathies I possess, have ever been, and still are, with that great party now represented by Her Majesty's Government."

This position was perfectly understood by those who understood Lord Shaftesbury. They knew that it was the outcome of the truest patriotism as well as of the highest principle; he could not subordinate to the exigencies of political party, what seemed to him for the public good; and the independent position that he assumed, was not, as some supposed, from incapacity to work in harness, but because he felt constrained to uphold and vindicate certain principles, and principles were to him more than parties.

To the part Lord Shaftesbury took, in this crisis of Indian affairs, he refers in the following entries in the Diary :—

May 15th, 1858.—Last night (strange that I should be found to take such a step) 'exhibited articles of impeachment.' Moved, in the House of Lords, a vote of censure on the Government! Cannot record, having lost the thread, day by day, what led to it. But so it was; and Government met it by 'previous question,' yet they had but a majority of nine! This was, in truth, a defeat to them.

Circumstances were administrative to the event. The character of the motion (a vote of censure), the subject-matter (the Empire of India); the revival of courage, union, and activity among many dejected and divided; the very large attendance of peers; the seats

and places appropriated to the House of Commons quite thronged, ladies filling the whole length of both galleries; the steps of the Throne, and adjacent spaces, choked up, and the Strangers' Gallery crammed to the last square inch, made the entire thing very brilliant in case of success, but equally dark in case of failure.

The attention was wonderful. After a few interruptions at the outset, intended to put me down, a pin might have been heard to drop during an hour and three quarters.

May 21st.—I am charged with moving against a Conservative Government.

How are they, in any sense, Conservative? They accept every proposition and make every concession. They refuse no committees and grant all inquiries. They yielded the county franchise, the property qualification; they are prepared to surrender church rates. Their Law Officer gave an opinion which rendered further resistance to the Oaths Bill absurd. They introduced an India Bill so ultra-democratical that it was repudiated by Bright, and they have pledged themselves to Reform. In what sense, and of what, are they Conservatives?

The arraignment of the Ministry was not successful. In the Peers, there was a division, in which the Government obtained a small majority. In the Commons, the resolution was withdrawn, as news arrived from India which greatly modified the impression of Lord Canning's action. Lord Ellenborough had the good sense to take upon himself the responsibility of what he had done, and saved the formal condemnation of his acts by resigning his office.

This was not the last occasion in which Lord Shaftesbury was to come forward in Parliament this year on Indian topics. When the Government of India Bill was under discussion, he declared "war to the knife" on one point which he considered vital; namely, that in the proclamation setting forth to the natives

the new relations between England and India, consequent upon the abolition of the East India Company, there should be a distinct recognition of the claims of Christianity. He urged repeatedly that, instead of "harping upon that odious word neutrality in religion, there should be a distinct and manful acknowledgment of Christianity on the part of the Government." When the proclamation left England, he was satisfied with the terms in which it was couched, but it appears to have undergone some alterations for the worse before it was published.

We must now revert to some of the less striking events of the years 1857-8, which have been passed over hitherto.

At no time in his life did Lord Shaftesbury employ the services of a permanent secretary, and the pressure of correspondence was one of the burdens he felt constantly. Entries like the following are frequent:—

March 28th, 1857.—Sit down and weep over the sad, wearisome, useless expenditure of time and strength on the letters I must read, and the letters I must write. No one would believe (I can hardly believe it myself) the amount of everything that is precious that is wasted in this way. Whole days and nights are consumed in the merest trifles of correspondence, and, if I attempt to review what I have been enabled to do of a solid or permanent kind, what to refresh my mind by the smallest supplies of knowledge, I find that a week, which has been passed in acknowledging useless letters and answering frivolous questions (not one letter in a hundred worthy of notice), has not furnished me with one hour of comfort or information.

Were this burden less, I might do many things of more public benefit, at least I might attempt it. But (it is no figure of speech) I am worn out by this dull, monotonous, fruitless occupation.

Nervous fatigue is often the consequence of unbroken application. Yet, what can I do? If I go on, I must endure this loss of health and time; if I desist, and reply to no letters, the wrath I excite, the abuse, the invective, the assertion that 'I am no Christian,' are terrible. For myself I mind not; but I do shrink from causing, by any self-care and self-indulgence, evil speech and evil feelings towards my order or my profession.

Have now, at least, a hundred letters unanswered; and, yet, have not had leisure to do one stitch of private business, enjoy barely an hour of recreation, nothing on public affairs, and two books I have desired to look at, still unopened. My mind is as dry as a gravel road, and my nerves are sensitive and harsh as wires.

Year by year Lord Shaftesbury's sympathy with every effort to spread the Gospel, was widening, and in May he took the chair at the annual meeting of the Baptist Society for Foreign Missions. It was one of those occasions, as he said, when one who "maintained, in all their integrity, his distinctive opinions as to Church government and subordinate points of faith, might find that there were truths common to the whole human race, of every creed, language, generation, and age, paramount to every other consideration, in furtherance of which he might join with all who held the faith and loved the common Lord in sincerity, to make known those truths whereby men are dignified and God is glorified."

One episode of the May Meetings this year, was a source of great pleasure to Lord Shaftesbury, who refers to it thus:—

May 31st.—This season Antony appeared on the platform of Exeter Hall at the anniversary of the Ragged School Union. He supported a resolution. His appearance to speak was received

with enthusiasm, loudest cheering, clapping of hands, waving of handkerchiefs, &c. &c., which lasted for some minutes. It was touching, and calculated to cause deep emotion. Accy spoke with propriety, neatness, simplicity, good taste, and promise of future excellence.

Here I recall the memory of my blessed children, my precious Francis, my precious Maurice, now gone to their rest! Is it possible? (to be sure it is) that they may be now 'ministering spirits sent forth to minister to them who shall be heirs of salvation!'

August 22nd.—Went on 13th to Halifax to attend opening of 'People's Park,' the munificent donation of Frank Crossley, a manufacturer with a princely, and what is better, a Christian heart. He was kind enough to insist on my attendance as 'the best friend of the working classes.' Speeches, of course, without end.

In his speech, proposing as a toast "The well-being of the people," Lord Shaftesbury, referring to Mr. Frank Crossley's magnificent gift to the people of Halifax, said:—

We often read in the papers of 'munificent bequests.' To my mind it is a phrase that has no meaning at all. I see no munificence in bequeathing your property to charitable purposes, when you are going out of this world and have not the possibility of longer enjoying it. What I like are munificent *donations;* I like to see men antedating the pleasure of those upon whom they bestow their bounty, antedating, I trust, their own pleasures, and enjoying, while yet alive, all the reverence, homage, and affection that is showered upon their memories after they are interred in the grave.

The elevation of Mr. Macaulay to the peerage—an honour, as the *Times* said, which belonged peculiarly to the man, and was a fitting, if not an adequate, return for a life spent in the public service and devoted to literary labour of the most dignified order—is thus referred to:—

Sept 4th.—Macaulay is to be made a Peer. This is wise, politic, useful, conservative. Urged this on Palmerston a year and a half ago. It will be taken as a compliment by literary men—small and great.

Sept. 15th.—Wrote to Macaulay to congratulate him and myself and the Lords on his elevation. I can never forget his speech on behalf of the Ten Hours Bill.

Later in the year, Lord Shaftesbury wrote to Lord Macaulay urging him to speak in the House of Lords on the subject of General Havelock's services in India, and the honours it was proposed to confer on him. To that letter he replied :—

Lord Macaulay to Lord Shaftesbury.

HOLLY LODGE, KENSINGTON,

Dec. 7th, 1857.

MY DEAR LORD,—I am most deeply sensible of your kindness. But I think it better not to make my first appearance as a speaker in the House of Lords, on an occasion on which there can be no difference of opinion, and on which there would be no room for anything beyond mere rhetorical display. I shall be seldom able to take any part in debate, for my chest suffers severely from continued speaking, and I have been forced entirely to give up reading aloud, of which I was very fond ; I therefore wish to reserve myself for occasions in which I have what I think good advice and strong arguments to offer.

As to our officers and soldiers in India, there is no honour or reward which they do not deserve. Thank God, our nation has not degenerated.

Ever, my dear Lord,

Yours very truly,

MACAULAY.

"I shall be seldom able to take any part in debate," was a mournfully true prophecy. The voice that had

rung out such words of burning eloquence in the House of Commons was never heard in the Upper Chamber. There was but a short term of life remaining to the new peer, and in his retirement at Kensington he devoted himself to his History, "the pleasure and business of his life." Almost suddenly, on the 28th December, 1859, he died, and on the 9th January following, was buried in Westminster Abbey. Referring to these events are the following notes from the Diary:—

January 3rd, 1860.—Dorchester. Here at Quarter Sessions. Heard on Saturday of death of Lord Macaulay! heard it with public and private sorrow. I liked him, and, in many respects, admired him. Personally I mean, for his abilities and acquirements commanded more than ordinary admiration. His sentiments and expressions were always generous, his feelings noble; he hated duplicity, meanness, violence; he never thought that brilliant exploits compensated for the want of moral worth; and he would call a man a villain, a rogue, or an oppressor, whether he were arrayed like Solomon, or in tatters like Lazarus.

These super-eminent and mighty talents, though never openly and directly employed for God's service, were, at least, never perverted to evil uses. Is there a sentence in any of his writings to offend decency, morality, the Christian faith?—not one. I did not know till now, how much I was attached to him. May I never forget his true and noble speech made, at my request, in the House of Commons on behalf of the factory children! Their prayers, I trust, ascended for him to the Throne of Grace.

Urged Palmerston to write, as Prime Minister, to the family, and propose that he should be interred in Westminster Abbey. He consented.

It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that Lord Shaftesbury was, in one way or other, brought into contact with nearly every man of note in his generation.

We have only quoted very sparingly from the letters he cherished and carefully preserved as souvenirs of friendships, but one from Mr. Charles Sumner, the American senator, whose vigorous advocacy of the claims of the slaves he greatly appreciated, may be inserted here. It was written in acknowledgment of a gift to him by Lord Shaftesbury of a fine old edition of the "Characteristics"—the well-known work of the Third Earl:—

Mr. Charles Sumner to Lord Shaftesbury.

1, REGENT STREET, *Sept. 24th*, 1857.

MY DEAR LORD SHAFTESBURY,—After a pleasant tour on the Continent, and especially in Switzerland, I am once more in England, where I am cheered by your kind note and the kind present which accompanied it. These I found awaiting me at my hotel.

In my youth I read your ancestor's three volumes in a Baskerville edition. The copy you now send me renews this memory, while it reminds me of yourself—assuring me of a much-valued sympathy from one whose Christian labours shed a new glory upon the great name which he bears.

Before this note can reach you, I shall leave London for Manchester, whence I shall go to Scotland and then to Ireland, before sailing for my own country and my duties there. Amidst my own struggle at home, I shall always think with pleasure of the opportunity I have enjoyed of knowing you personally, and I shall follow your distinguished public career with the sympathy of personal friendship.

Believe me, dear Lord Shaftesbury,

Very sincerely yours,

CHARLES SUMNER.

The question of the admission of Jews to Parliament, in which Lord Shaftesbury had for many years

taken a prominent part, was again under discussion in the summer of 1858, and he refers to the position he had determined henceforth to take up with regard to the question, thus:—

July 1st.—This evening Jew Bill in Lords. Had signified my intention, to many, of offering no further resistance. It is in vain, and altogether useless, nor is it wanting in a tinge of peril, to deny, pertinaciously and hopelessly (for the country is, and ever has been, quite indifferent) the yearly demands of the Commons.

I yield to force, not to reason. I think my responsibility satisfied on this side; and, by prolonged refusal, I should begin responsibility on the other.

See how the question stands. Commons, for many years, have sent up Bills with vastly-increasing majorities. Country quite apathetic, though numerous elections have occurred during that time. The Commons have decided that a Jew can sit on their committees, manage a conference with the Lords, take part in debate, and use every influence, but from the vote he is excluded. This, added to the actual state of the question, leaves the House of Lords scarcely anything, and certainly nothing of value, to refuse. More opposition is therefore futile.

The labours of Lord Shaftesbury in connection with the Social Science Congress at Liverpool, in October, were manifold. An epitome of them is given in the following entries:—

Oct. 27th (St. Giles's).—The longest gap in my whole book, I believe. . . . Started for Liverpool on 11th. Reached it too late for the service in church. Dined with W. Cowper at a hotel, we two having rambled in search of a dinner. At eight o'clock to St. George's Hall. Refused to move a vote of thanks to Lord J. Russell because I could not honestly praise him (a political intriguer and the unfeeling adversary of the wretched chimney-sweepers), but agreed to move one to Lord Brougham. The sight of the Hall, studded with company, was brilliant in the extreme. When I rose to speak, was

enthusiastically received, and so when I sat down. Short, but, by God's blessing, eminently successful.

Next day inaugural addresses of the Heads of Sections. Had written nothing and wished to say nothing, except to my own Section (Sanitary Improvement), but was overruled; and happy am I that it was so, for never has any effort so prospered!

Even at the moment before rising, the day being far advanced, resolved to make an excuse, but was urged on. Spoke in haste, fearful of fatiguing audience, and yet anxious, as I was embarked, to 'get out my say.' Saw that they were interested, and proceeded. Towards close resolved to cut peroration short, then determined to continue. Suddenly forgot allusion I intended to make, but I paused not. Suddenly remembered it, uttered it, and finished to my heart's desire. All this is to me miraculous; the several steps of progress, all of which I resolved not to make; the loss and recovery of the allusion to St. Paul at the end (which gained more success than anything I had ever said) were the result of guidance from above, not of my own powers.

The effect of this speech was surprising. The *Times* was friendly and laudatory; the *Daily News* loud and lively in its approbation. 'If,' said the paper, 'the Congress had produced nothing but that one speech, the labour of the whole and the service of the country would have been well and amply met.'

Well, then, to God be all the glory, and to me increased thankfulness and increased confidence in Him only, and an increased sense of responsibility!

On the Wednesday, chair of my Section. At half-past four dinner, six miles off, with Mr. Brown, M.P., and then in haste to Philharmonic Hall to take chair of Bible Society meeting. An immense gathering.

On Thursday, Sections. Then to meeting of working men in Amphitheatre. Here the reception, before and after speaking, that the working men gave me, I shall never forget, nor will any one else who saw and heard it!

On Friday, Sections. Dinner in St. George's Hall. Speech, of course.

On Saturday, presidents and officers met the public in the concert-room to take leave. Suddenly ordered by John Russell to second a resolution of thanks to the Press. Got through it. At three o'clock

to Manchester. Met four hundred of the operatives at the Cotton Tree. Took up my quarters with my hospitable friend Barnes; stayed there Sunday. Attended, with wonder and delight, afternoon special service in Free Trade Hall, conducted by a young Baptist, full of intellect and vigour, named Mursell. On Monday to Beckett's (Kirkstall Grange) for Bible Society in Town Hall. On Tuesday to Bradford, having speechified at Beckett's Schools for Young Men's Christian Association. Spent night at Mr. Wickham's, M.P. for the town. Very hospitable. On Wednesday to London.

In the course of his address, as President of the Health Section, Lord Shaftesbury controverted the argument, at that time very prevalent, that, in order to cure or alleviate the evils of the social system, all physical remedies were almost worse than useless, and that moral remedies alone should be applied. He alluded to the operations of the Public Health Act as evidence that the reduction of mortality was possible, and cited authorities for the statement that the preventible mortality of the country amounted annually to 90,000.

Now, we may be told by some that these things are but in the course of nature, and we ought not to interfere; on such we will turn our backs; we will not listen to such a representation. We may be told that these things are costly, and require financial effort and the people are not ready to undertake the expense; but we may safely say that it is disease that is expensive, and it is health that is cheap. There is nothing that is so economical as justice and mercy towards all interests—temporal and spiritual—of all the human race. If we be told that spiritual remedies are sufficient, and that we labour too much for the perishable body, I reply that spiritual appliances, in the state of things to which I allude, are altogether impossible. Make every effort—push them forward—never desist—lose not a moment—but depend upon it that in such a state of things you will in the end be utterly baffled. But when people say

we should think more of the soul and less of the body, my answer is, that the same God who made the soul made the body also. It is an inferior work, perhaps, but nevertheless it is His work, and it must be treated and cared for according to the end for which it was formed—fitness for His service. I maintain that God is worshipped, not only by the spiritual, but by the material creation. You find it in the Psalms: 'Praise Him, sun and moon; praise Him, all ye stars of light.' And that worship is shown in the perfection and obedience of the thing made. Our great object should be to do all we can to remove the obstructions which stand in the way of such worship, and of the body's fitness for its great purpose. If St. Paul, calling our bodies the temples of the Holy Ghost, said that they ought not to be contaminated by sin, we also say that our bodies, the temples of the Holy Ghost, ought not to be corrupted by preventible disease, degraded by avoidable filth, and disabled for His service by unnecessary suffering.

CHAPTER XXV.

1859—1860.

Dawn of Italian Freedom—The Men and the Hour—Events leading to the Struggle—Letter from Baron Bunsen—Sympathy with Sardinia—Letter from Lord Clarendon—The Reform Bill—Ministerial Crisis—Palmerston's Cabinet—Correspondence with Count de Persigny—A proposed Italian Committee—Correspondence with Garibaldi—Annexation of Savoy and Nice to France—Letter to Count Cavour—Speech in House of Lords on Savoy—Affairs in Syria—Druses and Maronites—Sunday Services in Theatres—The Victoria Theatre—A Strange Scene—Effective Reading—Lord Dungannon's Motion against Theatre Services—A Graphic Speech—Letter from Lord Stanhope—Christianity in India—Testimonials—Great Meeting in Free Trade Hall, Manchester—Presentation to Countess of Shaftesbury—Social Science Congress, Bradford—Preparation of Speeches—Nervous Susceptibility.

On New Year's Day, 1859, the Emperor Napoleon, on receiving the usual congratulations of the Diplomatic body, uttered some words to the Austrian Ambassador at the Tuileries, which indicated that the relations between the two Empires were unsettled.

The hour had come, and the men were ready, to commence the struggle that was to end in the liberation of Italy, the expulsion of Austria from Lombardy and Venetia, and the overthrow of the Temporal Power of the Papacy.

On one side was the young Emperor of Austria, trammelled by the traditions and follies of his predecessors, surrounded by counsellors unfit to deal with free thought or free men, and with an army destitute

of leaders; the Pope, with his first fresh Italian sympathies narrowed down by circumstances, giving proof that the Papal Power must ever be the enemy of Italian freedom; Ferdinand of Naples, treacherous, perjured, and oppressive. On the other side France, panting for glory, eager to "go to war for an idea"; Italy groaning for release from the tyranny of the petty governments that rent her in pieces; Sardinia, erect, alert, and strong in the strength of justice and of truth. On this side was Cavour, embodying Italian shrewdness with English steadfastness, whose "foresight and steadiness chained Fortune to his chariot," to whom power was a necessity and failure an impossibility, whose energy was dauntless, and who knew no fear, hesitancy, or scruple. And on this side was Garibaldi.

It is impossible to summarise, in a page, the history of the causes leading to the mighty struggle that was about to take place, and the events which marked each stage of its progress. It may, however, assist the reader to recall those incidents, if only an imperfect outline of some of them be given him.

The marriage, in January, 1859, of the Princess Clotilde, daughter of the King of Sardinia, to Prince Louis Napoleon, was interpreted as an intimation that the champion of Italian liberty would be supported by the power of France. Soon after this, war seemed inevitable. Lord Cowley was sent by England to Vienna on a confidential mission to offer mediation. Russia proposed a congress to settle matters amicably. Austria insisted that, as a preliminary, France and Sardinia

should disarm. Meanwhile, Cavour visited Paris and strengthened his position with the Emperor, securing the interests of Italy, whether there should be peace or war with Austria.

The voting of large sums in the Sardinian Chamber, for the fortifications of Alessandria, on the 12th of April, was regarded by Austria as a menace. Eleven days afterwards (April 23rd) an insulting ultimatum from Count Buol was presented at Turin, and this, Count Cavour turned to account by throwing upon Austria all the responsibility of war.

That same night 120,000 Austrians, under General Gyulai, crossed the Ticino, and the day following, Victor Emmanuel published his proclamation: "Let our war-cry be 'The Independence of Italy.'"

While these events were happening, the British Parliament was in the throes of a dissolution.

Lord Shaftesbury's Diary for 1859-60 contains fewer entries than at any other period of his life. This is mainly to be accounted for by the fact that, side by side with his Journal, but in separate volumes, he wrote, during a part of these years, a running political comment on foreign affairs.

On the day before Good Friday—the day before Baron de Kellersberg delivered Count Buol's ultimatum—England was startled by two telegrams, one giving hopes of peace, the other declaring the imminence of war. On that day Lord Shaftesbury noted in his Diary :—

April 22nd.—Have agreed, this week, to do two things which, in ordinary circumstances, I should have refused. I dine out to-night,

the evening before Good Friday, and I give a dinner on Saturday—a small dinner—the evening before Easter Sunday. And why? The state of affairs is very serious; it is of importance that our Government be well affected to Sardinia. The Marquis Massimo d'Azeglio is arrived on a special mission. Malmesbury, having but one day, invites me to meet him at dinner. My known sentiments towards Sardinia are thus recognised by the Minister as those he is not afraid to countenance; and I may, too, have an opportunity of dropping a 'word in season.' Why the other? Because it is the sole occasion within reach of possibility, of bringing Azeglio and Delane* into communication. Ten thousand misconceptions may be thus removed, and ten thousand truths established, towards the defence of Sardinian freedom and the maintenance of European peace.

The old intimacy between Lord Shaftesbury and Baron Bunsen had been maintained, and the following letter, relating to Italian affairs, was one of the last of the many that had passed between them :—

Baron Bunsen to Lord Shaftesbury.

CANNES (Var), FRANCE,
April 29, 1859.

MY DEAR SHAFTESBURY,—I write these lines as a response to your admirable letter addressed to the *Record* on the Italian, and in particular on the Sardinian, question. May God richly bless you for saying such words at such a moment. I am ashamed of the perverseness of the greatest part of the German press, partly vile instruments of Austria, partly blinded by the all-agitating intrigues of the Romish clergy over Europe, and partly carried away by a mis-applied zeal for the independence of Germany and the readiness to resist French aggression and encroachments. But I confess to you I am *deeply afflicted* also, by the dishonesty of most of your papers, and by the want of that clearness and foresight and impartiality which ought to distinguish the Statesmen who wield the power and influence of England at this great and awful crisis. What

* Editor of the *Times*.

can be more awkward than Lord M.'s conducting (or, rather, *not* conducting) this affair? What more imprudent and mischievous than Lord Derby's last speech? And still, Lord Palmerston, from his first speech, two months ago, laid the real case before Parliament and the nation in his masterly speech: *evacuation*, giving up of the *particular treaties* (as far as internal interference is concerned) and engaging '*never to return.*' He has since twice repeated the dose; but they are either too stupid or too perverse to follow his advice. When there *is* a great wound in the social body of Europe, it *must* be attended to; it may be inconvenient, it may not be in the right hands, but to ignore it, and even to say, nobody is to touch the sore, is as wicked as it is foolish. The influence of England on the affairs of the Continent is, above all, a *moral* one. That capital has been squandered away to a very high degree. The judicial madness of Austria has cut the Gordian knot, but the incapability of solving it has not the less been proved against the Ministry. The mischief done by the dishonesty and want of all principle in the *Times*, is not less. It is clear England will have no war, but then you must not speak big words, and, above all, not lower the standard of justice and humanity, pressing upon the weak and encouraging the despot. As to Austria, it was *her* and *not* the Pope who in 1832 (when I had been charged by the Roman Conference to draw up a Reform, the Memorandum of 23rd March, 1832, adopted 1847, and again 1852, by Pio IX.) opposed itself to that very moderate Reform admitted by her Ambassador. On the contrary, Gregory XVI. *thanked* me. Cardinal Bernetti had prepared the *edict* when I was called to the Pope to see an autograph letter of Emperor Francis 'forbidding the bans.' The Emperor said: 'If your Holiness admits the words (in the article of municipalities to be restored to the cities) *élues par les populations* (the loi electorale might be as conservative as it pleased the Pope) *I cannot maintain Milan.*' It is therefore said, more truly and naïvely than prudently, in the pamphlet, 'L'Empire and L'Italie,' that Austria will not and cannot allow free institutions around her. But is that a reason why English Ministers should maintain her right to make such treaties? (which Reeve most unblushingly compares with your treaties with Portugal). She *must* give up a system of lie and fraud and insolence of forty years' standing. If it is to be regretted that Napoleon should have taken the question in hand, why did not the Allied Powers do it during

forty years? Nobody can say Napoleon has done that clandestinely as a dodge; the principles were stated and acknowledged at the Congress of 1856, proposals were made accordingly to Austria in 1857, and were rejected in 1857 and 1858.

Alea jacta est, but Lord Palmerston's three speeches will ever be a redeeming document in the history of England and of Europe. I subscribe every word of them.

How true is all you say of Austria being the mainstay of persecuting and encroaching Popery! Her *concordati* deliver forty millions ('Teutonic brethren' of Lord M.'s, when only twelve of them at the utmost are Germans) to the priests, the priests to the Bishops, and Bishops and State to the Pope! As to Prussia, you may depend upon our keeping our dignified position and Germany in order. Not a man can be marched without our permission, and we shall not even allow a demonstration. I suspect, however, we were rather *tempted* to go farther by the Derby Government. The King's case is hopeless, and he is fully aware of it. I mean as to his inability ever to rule again.

A book has been much read lately, published in Germany, which is dedicated to me, and on which I have had a certain influence: 'On National Defences, or the way to save Europe from Military despotism and ruin.' By a Swiss (native German), *Schalz-Bodmer*. It contains the only exact military statistics, and develops the principles of the system of Landwehr, as adopted by Prussia and Switzerland (I see, also, Canada). I wish you could have it translated.

The Austrians have favoured, even recommended, the emigration of the Volunteers, hoping they would proclaim the republic, which to repress, the Austrians, in the interest of Europe, would then have considered it their duty, &c. &c.

On Easter Sunday before the Communion, Meille, at Turin, prayed most beautifully on the present crisis before an immense audience, as Charles writes me: the spirit of the nation is admirable.

We leave this *paradise* (to which Nice never ought to have been compared) on the 9th of May to return on 1st of November.

My book against Strauss is ready.

Ever yours faithfully,

BUNSEN.

The sympathies of Lord Shaftesbury were keenly excited on behalf of Sardinia, and he wrote a letter—to which Baron Bunsen refers—to urge all who "took an interest in the blessings of civil and religious liberty to come forward and express their sympathy in this just and noble cause." That letter gave rise to a considerable amount of adverse criticism, insomuch that, at the meeting of the Bible Society, on the 4th of May, Lord Shaftesbury took the opportunity of explaining the position he had taken up in the matter. He said:—

I have not concealed my sympathies upon this great question; and I do not intend at any time, or in any place, or under any circumstances to conceal them. But I should not have alluded to them, on the present occasion had not my words, in a letter that I ventured to address to the editors of some of the public papers, been grievously misrepresented, and my consistency, as President of your great Society, somewhat called in question. Having the honour to be your representative on these great occasions, an explanation is due to you. I am charged, that when I accuse Austria, I—by implication at least—defend the conduct of the Emperor of the French. I deny that any inference of the kind can justly be deduced from my letter; for in that letter I carefully and intentionally avoided all mention of France, of her empire, her people, her doings, of anything which she has done or is about to do. Let any one read the letter and they will see that it is a contrast between Sardinia and Austria, between merit and demerit, weakness and power; between liberty of conscience and the intolerable servitude of the Austrian Concordat. I minutely specified the claims Sardinia had upon our sympathies; I went through them in detail one after another, showing what reasons demanded our gratitude, what grounds there were to excite our fear. And even if I had been called to say something in defence of the conduct of the Emperor of the French, I might have affirmed thus much, that notwithstanding the course of events in France, and the strictures which might be passed upon the deeds of the Emperor, there is one thing must be said—God

grant that it may continue to be said—that the Word of God, under his rule, has a free circulation throughout the whole of the French empire. I do reiterate my appeal—I do appeal to all those who care for religious liberty—to all those who look for the revival of religion in those benighted regions of the earth—to come forward and express their sympathy in this mighty cause.

Among those who took exception to some of Lord Shaftesbury's views in relation to this crisis, although sympathising with him in the main, was Lord Clarendon, who wrote as follows:—

Lord Clarendon to Lord Shaftesbury.

THE GROVE, *May 9th*, 1859.

MY DEAR SHAFTESBURY,—I cannot quite take the same view as you do of Gyulai's proclamation. When one State invades another, it, of course, endeavours to inflict all the injury it can upon that State by denouncing the acts and the policy of its Government, by inciting its subjects to rebel, &c. &c.; and the Austrian Commander, in justifying the policy of his own Government, had to look at the whole question from the Austrian point of view, and impartial spectators have not much to object to in that. I detest the Austrian system of Government with my whole heart, and the painful thing in this war is, that one cannot cordially sympathise with any one of the belligerents. Sardinia is no more honest and disinterested in the matter, than France is desirous of promoting the cause of liberty, and they are all three, upon hypocritical motives, about to cause horrible evils for a most questionable result. I should be very glad if Austria were driven out of Italy, but I believe that a French domination would then be substituted for hers. I feel sure that Louis Napoleon will never allow a secular Government in the Papal Dominions, and I doubt whether Sardinian liberty will come unscathed from the struggle. Rely upon it, however, that the dismemberment of Austria on this side of the Alps, and of the Ottoman Empire in Europe, are looked upon as the complement and corollary

to the war in Italy, and that the provinces thus emancipated are to constitute the territorial assets for compensating Powers despoiled elsewhere for the new distribution of Europe. In such a dislocation of existing interests, the great Military Powers would gain, but I can see no probable advantage from it to England, or to the cause of humanity and civilisation.

Ever yours truly,

CLARENDON.

It was at a time when all Europe was agitated by the approach of this great conflict, that the Conservative Government thought fit to bring in a Reform Bill. At the close of the debate on the second reading (March 31) the Ministry of Lord Derby was defeated by a majority of thirty-nine—and an appeal to the country followed; the elections taking place during the most critical period of the war. The result of the elections was a gain to the Conservatives, but so small that, at a meeting of the chiefs of the Liberal party, in Willis's Rooms, it was agreed to move a vote of "No confidence" in the Ministry. This was done by the Marquis of Hartington, and after a long and stormy debate, lasting for three nights, the division showed a majority of thirteen in favour of his motion.

Lord Granville was sent for to form a Ministry, as the Queen felt it to be "a very invidious and unwelcome task" to choose between "two statesmen so full of years and honours, and possessing so just a claim on her consideration," as Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell. Lord Granville, however, was unsuccessful in his attempt. Lord John Russell would not serve under him, but expressed his willingness to serve under his

old rival, Lord Palmerston; and, eventually, Lord Palmerston again became Prime Minister, and held that office to the end of his life.

These events are referred to in the Diary as follows:—

May 31st.—London. A struggle is at hand, and an issue to be tried on a vote of want of confidence. I could vote it readily, cheerfully, conscientiously, as against the present Cabinet; and then I could do the same against those who should have replaced them. Palmerston alone would inspire me with hope; for I believe him to wish well, to desire to act well, and to be resolved to be well, with the real and permanent interests of England.

I cannot feel the same of any other man in Parliament. He may not have been always so; but he is so now. He is far from young, he is satiated with office, he is happy at home, and independent of all pecuniary and social necessities. Hence he can afford to be honest, unselfish, and patriotic.

June 15th.—Since this, a defeat of another kind. Derby, by the House of Commons, and Palmerston, after a few hours' effort by Lord Granville, with, as he said, the ardent desire of the Queen, appointed to form a Government.

June 21st.—The Ministry is formed and on a very wide basis. To form a Ministry in any other way would have been impossible; it was a choice of evils, a choice of dangers; and Palmerston wisely took the lesser of the two.

He has Radicals, Tractarians, Whigs, and himself. There are elements of discord, rivalry, intrigue, ambition; but there is no apparent necessity why they should break out. The 'talking' power of the Cabinet, especially in the House of Commons, is very great, perhaps too great for steady and easy deliberation when in council, and for unity of action in public.

Yet, if Palmerston were removed, the whole thing would be an agglomeration (and nothing more) of molecules floating in various, and ever opposite, directions.

The Ministry formed by Lord Palmerston was a strong one:—Lord Campbell was Chancellor; Earl

Granville, President of the Council; Mr. Gladstone, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord John Russell, Foreign Secretary; Sir G. Cornewall Lewis, Home Secretary; Mr. Sidney Herbert, Secretary for War; the Duke of Newcastle, Colonial Secretary; Sir C. Wood, Indian Secretary; Mr. Cardwell, Irish Secretary; Sir Geo. Grey, Duchy of Lancaster. Offices, with seats in the Cabinet, were offered to Mr. Cobden and to Mr. Milner Gibson; the former declined and the latter was appointed President of the Board of Trade, the office to which Mr. Cobden had been designated.

The peculiar position Lord Shaftesbury maintained in the political world; his wide acquaintance with the state of feeling among all classes in the country, and the transparency and integrity of his character, made him to be sought by men of all nationalities and all shades of opinion, and his advice to be held in high esteem. It was thus that, in the midst of the crisis in Italy, Count de Persigny, the French Ambassador, sought an interview and afterwards desired him to re-state his views, then expressed, in writing. He wrote accordingly as follows :—

Lord Shaftesbury to Count de Persigny.

LONDON, *June 6th*, 1859.

MY DEAR COUNT PERSIGNY,—The upshot of our conversation on Saturday was simply this :—

That the people of England had a great distrust of the designs of the Emperor of the French; that they feared the campaign in Italy as a scheme for territorial aggrandisements; and that, Italy being disposed of, England and the rest of Europe might be assailed.

They were resolved, therefore, to be fully prepared, and to take

every precaution for external and internal defence; but, having done this, they disapproved of the tone of insult, accusation, and ribaldry adopted by some members of the press, and some sections of society.

They would judge the Emperor by his acts, and the issue of his policy.

That the wise course for the Emperor to take would be to avail himself of the first opportunity, a great victory, or the entrance into Milan (should that event occur), to publish a strong proclamation to assure Europe that he had no views but the liberation of Italy, and that, this being accomplished, he would, without anything for himself, retire within the French frontier.

That the people of England (whom I separated altogether from the diplomatic officials, a few journalists, and a few fine folks in London) entertain this distrust of the Emperor, mainly on the recollections of the first Empire; but other things have gone very deeply into their hearts (and most justly too); and these are the conduct of the Emperor towards the Orleans family, and the prosecution of the Count Montalembert.

That, nevertheless, there is in England an earnest, deliberate, and lasting sympathy for the revival of Italy, and its deliverance from the many and various oppressions of its people. That we look on Sardinia and her wise system with the greatest affection and hope; and that Austria has not had, and never can have, from the British nation, the shadow even of a wish that she should be able to continue, a day longer, to affront and oppress the Italian people. I expressed a conviction that the Emperor would have sufficient patience to endure the attacks that were made upon him; but I added that my apprehensions were founded on the *natural* and *national* excitability of the French themselves.

Believe me,

Dear Count Persigny,

Yours truly,

SHAFTESBURY.

In August, Count Persigny renewed his question as to the state of opinion in England, after the stirring

events that had occurred in Italy, and Lord Shaftesbury replied as follows:—

Lord Shaftesbury to Count de Persigny.

August 27th, 1859.

MY DEAR M. DE PERSIGNY,—The question you put to me is very easily answered. You asked 'what was the state of feeling in England now, respecting Italian affairs?' I should reply that the feeling towards the Emperor personally is much more calm, and that there is greater confidence in his *intentions* towards Italy and Europe.

I say his *intentions*, because some of his *acts* have filled us with astonishment and dismay. We cannot but regard the peace of Villafranca as the most marvellous event in history.

Our hope and belief are that few of its details will be carried into effect.

The English people ardently desire the independence of Italy, and, above all, they desire that she should be left to manage altogether her own affairs. They detest the very thought of foreign intervention; they would consider it to be cruel, unjust, tyrannical, wicked, and foolish. They will not believe that the Emperor Napoleon contemplates such a thing; neither do they believe that he will permit the Emperor of Austria to do it. Should he do so, adieu to all esteem, confidence, or even respect for his position, person, or character.

You asked me 'what would the English do, were Austria now to invade Sardinia?' I can only say that I know what I should advise them to do. 'Support them,' I should say, 'by every force you possess—moral, civil, military, naval—as you did the Portuguese in 1826.' I cannot say that they would follow my advice, but I am certain that it would require very little to rouse them against the vile and cowardly aggression of Austria.

The English have no jealousy of the glory acquired by the Emperor of the French. He has done, alone, a mighty deed, and he ought (so we think here) *to have all the honour.*

And he can have it, if he resolve to be as bold in diplomacy as he has been in war. Let him speak out like a man; let him take

the lead in whatever is right, and liberal, and just, and all England will be eager to follow him.

Yours truly,

S.

P.S. I must tell you that we none of us like, or understand, the continued presence of French troops in Rome. It is the one thing that keeps alive suspicion.

To this letter M. de Persigny replied thus :—

1, CALVERLEY PARK,

Ce 30 *Août*, 1859.

CHER LORD SHAFTESBURY,—Je suis parti hier matin pour Londres et je ne reviens qu'à l'instant, ce qui m'à empêché de répondre plus tôt à votre excellente lettre. Je vous remercie infiniment de ce que vous me dites. J'ai toujours remarqué que personne n'appréciait mieux que vous le véritable sentiment public en Angleterre, et en conséquence je tenais beaucoup à votre opinion. L'Empereur est fermement résolu à laisser les Italiens libres d'eux-mêmes, et ne souffrira pas que l'Autriche intervienne. Il est donc probable que l'Autriche ne poussera pas les choses à l'extrême ; mais si le contraire arrivait, je crois que l'attitude de l'Angleterre suffirait pour faire rentrer l'Autriche dans les voies de la raison, et prévenir de plus grands malheurs. Je suis donc bien aise d'avoir sur ce sujet, l'assurance d'un homme dont le cœur bat à toutes les aspirations généreuses de son pays, et qui, par cette raison même, a une si parfaite intelligence des véritables sentiments de ses compatriotes.

Agréez, cher Lord Shaftesbury, l'assurance de mes sentiments les plus dévoués.

F. DE PERSIGNY.

In the autumn of this year, while the struggle for freedom was still progressing in Italy, and the final consummation was awaited with feverish anxiety, it occurred to certain leading Italians, that it would be desirable to concentrate and organise the sympathies of

England in their cause, by the formation of a Committee to be presided over by some leading Englishmen; and a letter, signed by Messrs. Avesani, Rocca, and others, was sent to Lord Shaftesbury, requesting him to take this position.

"It is generous" (they wrote) "for England to show so warm a sympathy; and it would be of great service to the Italians that this great nation, which has preceded every other in the path of all liberties, should make it felt in an efficacious manner. We trust in you, my Lord; allow us to keep this trust."

In replying to this appeal Lord Shaftesbury expressed his sense of the great honour done to him in soliciting his name for such a purpose, and added:—

If I could take the same view as you do of my position and influence, I should not hesitate, even for a moment, to accept the post that your confidence has offered to me. The claims, nay, more, the just demands of Italy on the sympathy and co-operation of Englishmen, are such that it seems impossible for any one, be he great or be he small, to hold back any support that it might be in his power to bestow. Your case and our own are very similar: we long and ardently desired the blessings of civil and religious liberty. To obtain them, we got rid of our obnoxious rulers, chose those who should succeed them, and established a form of government differing as little as possible from that to which we were habituated, and all this was done without bloodshed, without violence, without rapine, without confusion, or even disturbance of the order of daily life, and simply by the will of an united people determined to be free.

Your course has been the same. But great as was our conduct, yours has hitherto been far greater. We had long enjoyed the form, and oftentimes the exercise, of free institutions; the principle and practice of them were familiar to us. But liberty came upon you like a thunderclap, and yet she found you as orderly, peaceable,

ready, as alive to the blessings she gives, and the duties she imposes, as though you had been trained to them from your very cradles. So intense is the effect that simply the love of national freedom can produce on the understandings and the hearts of men.

We were told that you did not care for liberty, and that you had not courage to assert it. We were told that you were unfit for self-government, and that Austrian bayonets were necessary to save your beautiful land from bloodshed, plunder, and anarchy by your own people. We were told that your mutual hatreds and jealousies were such that no one State, no one city, could be in harmony with another. What, in fact, were we not told to your detriment and dishonour? Many believed what they heard. I did so at one time myself, but who can wonder at it? What precedent had history afforded of so apparently sudden a fitness for the exercise of the greatest of human callings—the exercise of civil and religious freedom? A nation seemed to be born in a day, born at once, in its full moral stature, with all the powers of self-control, without which there never was, and there never will be, any true or lasting liberty.

This letter—a portion of which only is given above—created a great impression in Italy. Although the question of Chairmanship, and indeed of the formation of the Committee, was waived until its functions should be more clearly defined, Lord Shaftesbury's letter was copied into all the papers, and the *Times*, in a leading article, gave currency to the idea that there was "something about a committee and a subscription-list which does not quite harmonise with a great national assertion of independence." The gentlemen who had signed the appeal to Lord Shaftesbury lost no time in repudiating the misconstruction that the *Times* had put upon their motives; but it was too late to eradicate the unfavourable impression that had been produced, and in the end, as "these things, if not taken up at once and

by acclamation," lose their force, Lord Shaftesbury prevailed upon the memorialists to abandon the project.

Lord Shaftesbury's sympathy was much appreciated by Garibaldi, who wrote to him, in Italian, translated as follows:—

General Garibaldi to Lord Shaftesbury.

December 12th, 1859.

My Lord,—You have, in two letters published in the journals, done justice to the Italians, and have assumed the patronage of their noble cause, dear to the English. I express to you, in the name of my country, the deepest sense of gratitude. Don't desist, my Lord, from this patronage at the present moment. I made an appeal to the Italians, and they worthily responded; I know that the English also want to respond. Shall I not see you at the head of this movement of national sympathy? I say of sympathy, because it would be indecorous for us to demand from the English that grand material assistance that it is the duty of the Italians only to give to their own cause. You will acquire the greatest title to the eternal gratitude of this country. Accept, my Lord, that of a soldier and your devoted

G. Garibaldi.

Owing to a long pending discussion, with regard to a Peace Congress for settling the affairs of Italy, it was not until January that Lord Shaftesbury replied to Garibaldi's letter.

Lord Shaftesbury to General Garibaldi.

London, *Jan. 12th*, 1860.

Dear Signor Garibaldi,—Your letter, dated 12th Dec., has hitherto remained unanswered, because, so long as the Congress was in prospect, I was unable to see clearly what course to pursue.

Now that the Congress is indefinitely postponed, I can more easily perceive the way to obtain that expression of sympathy on

the part of the British people that you so reasonably and so earnestly desire.

Italy, we rejoice to hear from you, has nobly done her duty in the response she has made to your appeal for material succour. I trust that England will not be less ready to give what you ask of her, the moral support derived from the manifestation of the hearty approbation and ardent prayers of a free people.

But to obtain this fully, authentically, unmistakably, you should come yourself in person to receive it. My friends whom I have consulted, concur with me in saying that your presence here, as the representative of a generous and oppressed people struggling for civil and religious liberty, would call forth such an expression of national feeling as would be, if possible, equal to the occasion, and to your own merits.

Believe me to be

Your faithful friend and servant,

SHAFTESBURY.

That invitation Garibaldi was not able, for the present, to accept. It was not until April, 1864, that an opportunity presented itself for him to visit this country, and when he did so, Lord Shaftesbury was among the first to welcome him, and was his constant companion throughout the whole of his visit.

Garibaldi was not the only leader who appreciated and acknowledged Lord Shaftesbury's services on behalf of Italy. Cavour wrote also, and in very similar terms, to thank him for what he had done, and to urge him to still use his best endeavours to obtain for Italy the moral support of England.

When, in July, 1859, the Peace of Villafranca was suddenly concluded, Cavour, disappointed, had retired from office; but on the 21st January, 1860, he was

recalled, nominally by the King, but really by the people. This was at the time that the annexation of Savoy and Nice to France was first mooted. To these events the following letter refers :—

Lord Shaftesbury to Count Cavour.

LONDON, *Feb. 3rd*, 1860.

MY DEAR COUNT CAVOUR,—The feeling in England among all classes who desire the welfare of Italy, is one of joy and gratitude to God for your return to office.

No one can entertain that feeling more strongly than I do. I congratulate not *you*, but *your country* on this happy event; and most heartily do I pray that it may lead to the secure establishment of civil and religious liberty throughout every portion of the land where the Italian tongue is spoken.

But may I add one word of entreaty (which word would be, not only mine, but that of the great majority of my fellow-citizens), that you will never listen to any scheme for the separation of Nice and Savoy from the Crown of Sardinia. We, here in Great Britain, loathe the very thought of it. We think that it would tarnish very much the motives and conduct of the Emperor of the French ; and, not a little, the motives and conduct of the Sardinian Government. It would throw a stain on the whole efforts for National Independence ; and entirely alienate the affections of Englishmen.

We hate the traffic in the rights and freedom of peoples, as we hate the traffic in slavery and human flesh. And we protest against anything that shall substitute the influence of France for the influence of Austria, and jeopardise, in any measure, the peace, comfort, and security of the Swiss Republic.

Pray excuse me for thus writing to you; it is forced on me by the very deep respect I have for yourself, and the intense interest I feel for the honour and welfare of Italy.

Believe me,

Very truly yours,

SHAFTESBURY.

A few days after this letter was written, the Marquis of Normanby moved, in the House of Lords, an address to the Queen, praying her to direct her Government to use their best endeavours to prevent the transfer of Savoy and Nice to France. Lord Shaftesbury supported that motion in a speech which the newspapers characterised as "a noble burst of eloquent indignation." It is thus referred to in his Diary :—

Feb. 8th, 1860. — Spoke last night in House of Lords on Normanby's motion relative to annexation of Savoy. Felt deeply, spoke strongly, perhaps imprudently; but my object was to state the truth, as felt by the people of England, untrammelled by the legitimate caution of ministers and would-be ministers.

He brought a series of powerful arguments against the proposal, and in concluding said :—

To the latest hour of my life I will protest against handing over a nation that enjoys free institutions to a government under a despotic dynasty; and against handing over a free people, bound hand and foot, to a country where they can enjoy no free expression of opinion, or, if guaranteed that expression of opinion, can exercise no power in giving it practical effect. I protest against a country where religious liberty is proclaimed, being handed over to a nation where religious liberty, if proclaimed, is often violated; and I protest also, against the policy of treating nations like flocks of sheep, and making them, regardless of their consent, the subjects of barter and exchange. We in this country have long protested against the traffic in human flesh; I equally protest against any traffic in human or national rights.

The motion was opposed by the Government and withdrawn. The sequel is matter of history. On the 23rd of April the voting in Savoy and Nice on the question of annexation to France, closed. In Savoy, 130,533

voted in favour, and 235 against; in Nice the votes were 25,743 for annexation, and 160 against it.

Before passing away from the subject of Italian affairs, we must give a few extracts from the Diary, more especially those relating to Garibaldi, of whom Lord Shaftesbury said, in a letter to a friend, "He seems to me to be one of the noblest fellows that ever lived; just the sort of man that the English people ought to reverence and support."

May 26th, 1860.—St. Giles's. How I wish that I could keep an account, for refreshment of memory of all that occurs; of the rejection, by the House of Lords, of the Paper Duty Bills; of the wise contempt with which the House of Commons treated all who endeavoured to stir it into fury; of Garibaldi's heroic effort to deliver Sicily; of my equally heroic effort to save the Commission in Lunacy, by once more thrusting my head into the lion's mouth and going to give evidence before the Committee.

June 7th.—London. I had better give up my book—can find no time to record anything.

June 12th.—Garibaldi has achieved wonderful results. It seems to me that God's protecting and accompanying power has repeated for him the miracle of Gideon and his three hundred. The greatness of his exploits is eclipsed by the greatness of his character: truth, simplicity, disinterestedness, and humanity, are stamped on every action.

My heart has been with him all along. It is now with him more than ever. Legal reasons, political and politic reasons, have kept down open expression; but now, that he has wrought independence, has established a *de facto* government, has made a treaty on equal terms with the King of Naples, who, thereby, admits his position, we may, surely, signify our deep sympathy with the cause, and our personal admiration for the man!

Certainly we may, and ought. But we shall not. The people, the middle class, are full of enthusiasm, and ready to express it; but in vain do we feel the pulse of M.P.'s in both Houses; of rich

men, high men, fine folk of all sorts. Some refuse; some 'damn with faint praise'; some hesitate, and only one in a hundred is warm and energetic. This is fatal to all effort for a public meeting. Unless such things, in such circumstances, be forced *by* the general feeling, not *on* it, they must fail in action, and do vast harm to the cause.

Oct. 12th.—The interest of Italy is unceasing. The combination of the national interest for Italy, and the personal interest for Garibaldi is unlimited in extent and exhaustless in feeling. I earnestly pray for that great man, that good man, that noblest hero and champion since the days of Gideon or the Maccabees. God prosper him in time and in eternity.

Dec. 1st.—Bunsen is dead. I knew him well, and who could help loving him?

Although the affairs of Italy occupied much of Lord Shaftesbury's time during 1859-60, he was breaking fresh ground in many other directions. In Syria the hostility of the Druses to the Maronites and the dispatch of forces to maintain the peace there caused him much anxiety and labour, and, in putting a question to the Foreign Secretary in the House of Lords, as to whether the authorities of the force sent to Syria were to interfere directly or indirectly with civil and religious affairs, affecting either Moslems or Christians, he did not disguise—in the course of a long and graphic speech in which he set forth the whole position of Christians in Syria—the fact, that his desire to obtain an answer, arose "from the insuperable distrust he felt towards his Majesty the Emperor of the French."

There were matters nearer home, however, that called forth his energies. The Special Sunday Evening Services, at Exeter Hall, inaugurated by Lord Shaftes-

bury and the "Palmerston Bishops," had proved successful beyond all anticipation. The interest in the services, instead of flagging, grew greater every Sunday, and it was now a question how to extend similar efforts, so that, on the one hand, the lowest of the low—the classes to whom the Gospel was never, or very rarely preached, could be gathered together—and, on the other hand, how an interest in the Gospel could be awakened in the middle and upper classes who had "cared for none of these things." To reach the latter, a series of Special Evening Services was held in Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's Cathedral; and for the former, Sunday Evening Services were commenced in the theatres of the metropolis. Both of these movements sprang directly from the Exeter Hall Services.

In the Theatre Services Lord Shaftesbury took the greatest possible interest. They were founded by him; he stood at the helm to direct the progress of the whole movement; he bore the brunt of the battle in their defence, and he reaped the harvest that was sown, inasmuch as the good that was done, was done to those who belonged to himself—the poor, the wretched, and the abandoned.

In January, 1860, five theatres were opened for religious worship. The Victoria (in the New Cut), the Britannia (Hoxton), the Garrick (Whitechapel), Sadler's Wells (Islington), and another. By the middle of February seven theatres were opened, and the average attendance was 20,700 each night. Allowing a deduction of ten per cent. for people coming from mere

curiosity, there were 18,630 persons listening to the Word of God who had probably never frequented any place of public worship before.

Lord Shaftesbury frequently "assisted" in the services at the various theatres, and especially at the Victoria Theatre. It was a strange sight that met his gaze as he looked in at the theatre just before he attended the first service there; stranger still, as he stood upon the stage, facing the footlights, Bible in hand, and read a chapter of the "sweet story of old." From floor to ceiling the vast house was thronged; in boxes, stalls, pit, and gallery, were costermongers, street cadgers and labourers; women in fluttering rags, many with babies in their arms; boys in their shirt-sleeves and corduroys; young men and maidens in their gaudy "Sunday best;" and here and there a few persons in attire denoting that they belonged to the "better" classes. At the opening of the service there had been much confusion. No shrill whistles, no slang cries or cat-calls, no roars of laughter, as on the evenings when the audience waited for the curtain to rise on some bloodthirsty melodrama; but conversation, interspersed with disputes about room, or priority of claim. When the first hymn was sung there had again been some little confusion; it was a novelty to the people. The simple lively airs of the American evangelists had not yet been heard. When, therefore, the first verse of the Old Hundredth was attempted, it fell flat, and seemed to provoke merriment. The words of the hymn were not known, a vast number of the people

could not read, many had no idea of tune, still more had no idea of time. But, before the fourth verse had finished, many who had hitherto been shy of lifting up their voices, or were unfamiliar with the tune, joined in, and the fifth verse concluded with a triumphant roar!

When the opening prayer was offered, a few attempted to kneel, a large number buried their faces in their hands or their hats, or, in the front rows, laid their heads on their sleeveless jackets—some turned their backs to the stage, and some to the gallery, but throughout the whole house the silence was intense, solemn, and striking.

There was a buzz of approbation when Lord Shaftesbury rose to read the lessons; but there was good taste enough in the audience to confine itself to that quiet demonstration of approval.

It is recorded in the book of Ezra that when, on a great historical occasion, the people were gathered together to hear the Book of the Law, the priests "read in the book of the law of God *distinctly*, and *gave the sense*, and caused them to *understand the reading*."* This is exactly what Lord Shaftesbury did, and what so very many ministers unhappily fail to do. He was an excellent reader, and whether to the little village congregation at St. Giles's, where he invariably read the lessons when staying at his country seat, or in the vast theatres of London, where for many years he frequently did the same, he "caused

* Ezra viii. 8.

the people to understand," and thereby touched their hearts and consciences.

The strangest sight of all that night, was seen when the preacher, having given out a text, told the simple story of the Gospel of Christ. The people listened with extraordinary attention, as if they had never heard of the subject before; and, as one of the preachers at these Theatre Services, describing a similar occasion, said, "Down their pale cheeks, that had once blushed, and from their eyes still retaining their lustre, tears flow, and occasionally over all the audience a stillness reigns, that proves reality to be more effective than fiction, and the story of a Cross erected on a Judean hill 1800 years ago, to have lost none of its power."

It soon became apparent that these services were accomplishing a vast amount of good. They attracted thousands of the poor, whose rags and tatters prevented them, even if they had the desire, from attending the regular places of worship. They stood in relation to churches as ragged schools stood in relation to other places of education. Their scope is described by Lord Shaftesbury thus :—

To aid the progress of the general improvement is the object of these Special Services. No one contemplates them as a permanent system : our desire is to fell the trees, to clear the jungle, to remove impediments. We hope to bring thousands of our ignorant and neglected brethren to think about Christianity. Having learned it, they will, we trust, pursue it; and, rising above their attendance at the theatre, attach themselves to the Church of England, or some one or other of the recognised and established forms of worship.

Their humanising effects are already manifest in the language, manners, and appearance of those who frequent them. This is no wonder; for matters of such deep and vital interest can never be altogether without their fruits. With many it may be transitory; with a few it may be lasting; but utterly ineffectual these services cannot be; and, surely, we may say of them, without fear of disappointment, as Southey said of the music of church-bells, that 'however it may fall on many unheeding ears, it never fails to find some that it exhilarates, and some that it softens.'*

It need hardly be said that these religious services in theatres did not meet with universal approval. On February the 24th, in the House of Lords, Lord Dungannon rose "To call attention to the performance of Divine Service at Sadler's Wells and other theatres by clergymen of the Church of England on Sunday evenings; and to move a resolution that such services, being highly irregular and inconsistent with order, are calculated to injure rather than advance the progress of sound religious principles in the metropolis and throughout the country."

Lord Shaftesbury, "the only culprit in the House, and one of the principal movers in originating these services," replied. His speech was the most novel and interesting of its kind ever heard in that august House. For two or three hours his audience were riveted as, in picturesque language, and with unsurpassed earnestness, he told the whole story of the movement. He met the argument that between these services and the associations connected with a theatre there was an utter incongruity, by explaining that the class of people attending

* Article in *Ragged School Union Magazine*, March, 1860.

them had the greatest possible repugnance to either a church or chapel: that everything had been done to procure other buildings, but without success; and, although music-halls might have been hired, these places were rejected because, in almost every instance, they were connected with taverns. He denied that there had been any disorder of any kind at any of the services, and quoted letters from Sir Richard Mayne, the chief of the police, testifying that at every service the people had conducted themselves with the greatest propriety. Lord Shaftesbury examined the argument of opponents that these services tended to draw people from the churches and chapels they ordinarily attended, and refuted it by abundant letters from clergymen and ministers of churches in the neighbourhood of the theatres. He utterly denied, from personal experience, the charge of Lord Dungannon, that "ginger-beer bottles were opened and oranges cried during Divine worship just as during the theatrical performances." After attending for three evenings at the Victoria Theatre, he could say:—

> From the beginning to the end of the service, no assembly could have been more orderly, more apparently devout, and more anxious to catch every word that fell from the preacher's lips. On one of the occasions, so solemn and touching was the discourse of the preacher, and so moved were many of the wildest and roughest present, that when, after the 'Benediction,' they rose to leave the building, they went so quietly and slowly that you could hardly hear the sound of a foot-fall.

In combating the assertion that these services were endangering the Church, he produced ample testimony

from clergymen who had participated in them, that the reverse appeared to be the case. As for the talk of an inhibition to stop them, he said:—

I doubt the legality of such an inhibition, and I for one am prepared, if an inhibition be issued, to test its legality. I question whether any human being, or any law, has the power of preventing a clergyman, in his capacity of a Christian citizen, from performing that great duty, the salvation of souls, in season and out of season, at all times and in all places, to any who may be disposed to hearken.

In concluding his remarks, he said:—

My lords, you must perceive the rising struggle to preach the Gospel among this mighty mass of human beings. Can you be indifferent to it? I ask whether you are prepared, as members of the Church of England, to see the Church stand aloof, and the whole of this movement given up exclusively to the Dissenters? Will you say to those destitute and hungering men, 'We can give you no sort of food. Come, if you like, to Episcopal churches and chapels, and there you shall be preached to in stiff, steady, buckram style. We will have you within walls, consecrated in due and official form; otherwise you shall never hear, from us at least, one word of Gospel truth?' Are you prepared to admit that the Church of England, despite the pressing and fearful necessity, is bound so tightly by rule and rubric, and law and custom, that she can do none of the work? Will you say, 'We have not a sufficient force of clergymen; we have not churches or chapels; we have no money to ordain and support the ministers of religion?' In that case the people, who are benefited by these services, will reply, 'Let the Nonconformists, then, do the work, but let the Church of England take up her real position as the Church of a sect, and not that of the nation; she has been applied to and found wanting, and let us follow those who have called us to the knowledge of the truth.'

Lord Shaftesbury was ably supported in the debate by Earl Granville and the Bishop of Llandaff, the burden

of whose remarks was, "If this thing be of God, who are we that we should withstand it? and if it be of men, it will surely come to nought;" and eventually Lord Dungannon withdrew his motion.

The only reference to this subject in the Diary for the year is the following:—

March 31st.—On 24th of last month speech on 'Religious Service in Theatres.' . . . . . That it should have affected the general public does not much surprise me; but that it should so have affected many stiff, cold, hard, and hostile peers; that it should have warmed even Derby into approval, is akin to a miracle.

The latter portion of the above entry is, probably, in allusion to the following letter:—

The Earl Stanhope to Lord Shaftesbury.

GROSVENOR PLACE. *Monday.*

MY DEAR SHAFTESBURY,—In the few minutes that I saw you yesterday I omitted to mention what, nevertheless, you may not be altogether displeased to hear.

Talking with Lady Derby on Saturday last, she happened to tell me (without the least idea that it would ever come round to you) how greatly Lord Derby had been struck and pleased with your speech on Thursday evening. It certainly must be felt on all sides as a most remarkable statement.

Ever yours faithfully,

STANHOPE.

Christianity in India was, as we have seen, at this time a subject impressed on the heart of Lord Shaftesbury, and at many meetings he urged the necessity of a constant and consistent acknowledgment of Christianity on the part of the Government.

In March an important Conference on Missions was held in Liverpool, where Lord Shaftesbury was in the chair, and Sir Herbert Edwardes, fresh from India, a chief speaker. Many were the lessons drawn on that occasion from the Mutiny, its causes and its suppression, bearing on the national responsibility to fulfil the trust to elevate and Christianise the people of India. Lord Shaftesbury embraced the opportunity to deprecate the Government neutrality in religion, which had already issued in such fatal results. He said:—

Well do I remember the time when the Mutiny in India had carried terror to every man's heart. Well do I recollect how many men, who cared no more for Christianity than for the ground they walked on, said to me, 'Clear it is that nothing is left for the saving of the Empire but that the people should be Christianised. We must introduce the Christian religion among them.' The Mutiny subsided, and so subsided their convictions, and a greater deadness ensued after the Mutiny than existed before it; and soon shall we lapse into that nondescript, that inconceivable, that wild condition called 'Government neutrality.' Recollect, my friends, that Government neutrality will shortly become national neutrality; that Government indifference will shortly become national indifference; ay, and that Government sin will shortly become national sin. After all, what is neutrality? Neutrality is a word you may read in the dictionary, and neutrality is a thing you may find in the grammar; but neutrality in the moral life of a man, is a thing that cannot have existence. Politicians talk of neutrality because they delight in mutual mystifications. But neutrality in religion is *impossible*. A man must either believe or disbelieve. If he disbelieves, he is an infidel, and that is the end of the matter; if he believes, he is bound, by every consideration of heaven and earth, with all his soul, with all his heart, with all his mind, to labour that the Word of the Lord may have free course and be glorified. . . .

At the Bible Society meeting in May, he exhorted the people to obtain the affirmation on the part of the ruling powers, both in this country and in India, that the ban of exclusion, which then rested on the Holy Word of God, should be at once and for ever removed, and referred to the "National Declaration" on the subject embodied in a petition to both Houses of Parliament.

"We do not ask," he said, "that the Bible should be forcibly introduced; we do not ask that anybody should be compelled to read it, or hear it without his full consent; but we do ask, that if any come forward and request that the Word of God be taught to them in their schools—and there are many prepared to do so—so great a blessing shall not be denied, but that we shall be ready to come forward and profess our faith, and not be ashamed of the Name by which we are called."

In June the Ragged School Teachers of London made a presentation to Lord Shaftesbury at St. Martin's Hall, as a token of their affection and gratitude, of an oil-painting illustrative of the benefits of the Shoe-Black Movement. It was accompanied by an elegantly bound volume, containing an address beautifully engrossed, to which was appended the signatures of no less than 1,700 of the subscribers.

The signatures were those of all sorts and conditions of men, showing how widely the Ragged School movement had extended its influence. They included the names of clergymen, bankers, solicitors, merchants, and others of a like station; but a much larger proportion consisted of clerks and agents, grocers and gardeners,

cooks and cow-keepers, hosiers and hatters, plasterers and polishers, and the like, no fewer than 120 honourable mechanical employments being represented.

In replying to the address, Lord Shaftesbury said, "I would rather be President of the Ragged School Union, than have the command of armies, or wield the destiny of empires. That volume, with its valuable collection of signatures, may go among ancient family records, and it will show to our posterity that some have been good enough to say that I have not been altogether useless in my generation."

The painting was honoured with a position over the mantelpiece in the dining-room at Grosvenor Square; the volume was kept in a case in the room, and both were shown with pride and pleasure to visitors to the very close of his life.

On the 6th of August about 4,000 persons assembled in the Free Trade Hall, at Manchester, to witness the presentation to the Countess of Shaftesbury of an address and a fine marble bust of the noble Earl, as a testimonial of the gratitude of the Factory Operatives for his powerful advocacy of the Ten Hours' Bill.

The Countess, in acknowledging the presentation, said: "My good friends, it will not require many words from me to express the deep and heartfelt gratitude with which I receive the testimonial of your respect and affection. I prize it highly, as coming from a large body of my countrymen, whose character for intelligence and morality qualifies them to estimate at their true value any efforts made for the welfare of the community.

You will believe, I am sure, that, having watched the progress of your exertions with lively interest, I warmly rejoiced in your success; and it is my fervent prayer to God that it may be blessed through many generations to you and to your children."

Lord Shaftesbury added his thanks to those of the Countess, to whom, he said, their testimonials were more due than to himself; for he would tell them that in the year 1833, when the matter was propounded to him, he had great doubts, not of the justice of the cause, but of his competency to undertake it. He sought counsel on the right hand and on the left, but he left the issue to the decision of his wife; and she, without a moment's hesitation, said, "Go forward, and to victory."

The bust, by Mr. M. Noble, besides being an admirable likeness, was an exquisite work of art, and it was gratifying to know that the cost of it was defrayed by a collection, almost entirely in pence, from the Operatives.

The inscription on the pedestal is as follows:—

"Presented to Emily, wife of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, by the Operatives of the manufacturing districts of the North of England, as a token of esteem and regard for the persevering and successful efforts of her noble husband in promoting, by legislative enactment, a limitation of the hours of labour of children, females, and young persons employed in mills and factories. August 6th, 1859."

Sept. 17th.—St. Giles's. I wish I had recorded, at the time, when both my feelings and my memory were fresh, the presentation

of the picture and address by the Ragged School Teachers, in St. Martin's Hall; and of the bust, by the Northern Operatives, in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester. Striking, important, affecting celebrations—both of them; perhaps without precedent in our own or any other history. I give Thee thanks, O Lord.

The bust was erected on Wednesday, the 14th, in Stone Hall, of St. Giles's House, under the eye of Noble the sculptor.

Sept. 23rd.—The Saint. Last season in London. My daughters, all four, with Mlle. Krause, their excellent governess, attended twice a week at the Orthopædic Hospital, to tend the young cripples and read to them. It was signally successful, and blessed, by God's grace, to the teachers and the taught. Never have I felt more joy than to see, that the more wretched the object, the more degraded and helpless the sufferer, the greater the sympathy of my children, and the greater their devotion. 'Every good and perfect gift cometh down from above'!

The Third Annual Social Science Congress was held at Bradford, on the 10th of October. Lord Shaftesbury was President of the Association, and Lord Brougham President of the Council. For the first time in his life Lord Shaftesbury read his speech, in which he commented upon the subject matter to be dealt with in each department and section, with a view to show that all the subjects ran into each other towards the one end—the well-being of mankind. The paper occupied an hour and a half in reading and was received with enthusiastic applause.

Of the hundreds and thousands of speeches that Lord Shaftesbury had made upon every conceivable subject, he was always guided in their preparation by a few simple rules, to which he remained faithful to the end of his career. He did not write his speeches—and never accustomed himself to trust to notes. He

got together all his evidence and everything he wished to quote, and these he put in shape, but the connecting matter he never formally prepared. He thought the subject well over, made himself master of the facts, and trusted for the rest to the inspiration of the moment. In one or two instances, when he had to speak in the House of Lords (where, less than anywhere else, he felt the requisite inspiration), he committed his speech to memory, nearly word for word, and then handed the MS., to which, however, he never referred, to the reporters for publication, when he was specially anxious for an accurate report. It was a saying of his that, for an ordinary speech, it was not of great consequence how it was commenced, but it was all-important how it ended, and he almost always, therefore, prepared his peroration, sometimes committing it to memory.

As the years advanced, certain characteristics which had been developed in early life became more and more pronounced. "My temperament is painfully susceptible," he wrote in the autumn of this year; "I am very soon elated and as rapidly depressed, both in extremes: at one moment in the highest joy, then in the deepest despair." Towards the close of the year he wrote:—

Dec. 20th.—A man verging upon sixty must expect disappointments. And so I do. Yet, nevertheless, I have many moments of aspiration and hope. Though sometimes faint and feeble almost to inanition, I am, at other times, vigorous, lively, and forward, as in the best days of my youth; and I feel a singular reluctance to withdraw from the field, dark and dismal though it be, while there appears the smallest opening to do God's service. Man must not

estimate what good can be done by his own proportion of big and little. God called me to the relief of the factory population, and gave me strength accordingly. The work was great and conspicuous. He may call me to some obscure, inferior, and, humanly speaking, paltry effort. The work may be short and without honour. Yet, at the day of final account, the last may be more than the first; "the gleanings of the grapes of Ephraim may be worth all the vintage of Abi-ezer."

This is why I cannot resolve to retire, though I see clouds gathering around, and, within and without, am not what I was.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1861—1863.

Metropolitan Improvements—Displacement of Labourers—Criminal Lunatics—Appointment of Select Committee—Lord Shaftesbury gives Evidence—Proposed Benevolent Asylum for Insane of Middle Classes—Meeting at Freemasons' Hall—Speech—Mr. Thomas Holloway—Letter from Mr. Bowen May—The Holloway Sanatorium—The "Evangelisation" of Italy—Headstrong zeal—Death of Count Cavour—Letter from Baron Ricasoli—Civil War in America—Indian Irrigation and Inland Navigation—Famine in India—Cotton Supply—Illness and Death of a Daughter—A Mother's Devotion—Letter to Mr. Haldane—Letter from Lord Palmerston—The Order of the Garter—A Word of Warning—A Generous Offer—Illness of the Prince Consort—His Death—"Journal of Passing Events" Renewed—American War—Obituary for 1861—Order of the Garter Accepted—Lancashire Cotton Famine—Lancashire People—Address to Cotton Operatives—Pauper Lunatics—Insurrection in Poland—Causes leading to the Insurrection—Great Meeting in Guildhall—Speech in House of Lords on Poland—Letter from Miss Florence Nightingale—Friendship with Lord Palmerston—A Delicate Matter—Letter from Lord Palmerston—His Generous Nature—Financial Difficulties—A Fraudulent Bailiff—Safe at Home.

On the 28th of February, 1861, the Earl of Derby brought under the notice of the House of Lords the subject of the displacement of labourers in consequence of great metropolitan works and improvements.

Lord Shaftesbury welcomed the consideration of the subject, and referring to his efforts in 1853, said, that the attempt to place the responsibility on the parties undertaking these great works had failed, the mere reports ordered to be made having proved utterly useless. There were at that moment seven bills before Parliament, which, if carried, would authorise 1,145 houses to be

demolished, and this would displace 5,422 persons, while the 200 Improvement Bills promised for this session would cause ravages "as great as if a foreign army had invaded the country, plundered the inhabitants, and dispersed them in all directions." He drew a lively picture of the panic resulting, in poor districts, from sudden notice to quit, of the loss of time in seeking for new homes, and of the inevitable rush, at the last moment, into already overcrowded localities. As to the proposal to establish suburban villages for the poor, he contended that it was absolutely necessary that the labouring man should be near the scene of his work, and the woman, too, who earned small sums to supplement the husband's wages.

A short debate ensued, but no conclusion was arrived at, except that the petitions referring to the matter should be ordered to lie on the table. On March the 21st, however, Lord Shaftesbury returned to the charge, and moved an addition to the Standing Orders, for the purpose of providing that the report, made by the promoters of railway and other bills, of the number of houses and inhabitants displaced, should be referred to the Select Committee on each bill, who should inquire into, and report on, the same. In supporting this proposal, he pointed out that, unless something was speedily done, great moral, financial, and even political, mischief would ensue. From personal inspection he could say, that the proposed improvements would displace a quiet, orderly, decent population, and inflict absolute ruin on many. To arrange for cheap trains for

workmen, was giving a stone when they asked for bread. The proposed suburban villages did not meet the present immediate need, however beneficial they might be in the future. He believed good was done by keeping the real state of things constantly before the country, and if the story did not rouse the nation to something like a great and magnanimous effort, "we have come," he said, "to the time when we must declare there is no foundation of truth whatever in the professing philanthropy and self-glorifying language of the nineteenth century." *

After some discussion, Lord Shaftesbury's proposal was (with a slight modification) adopted. A fortnight afterwards, he addressed the House on the subject of cheap trains for workmen, and advocated these, not as solving the difficulty, but as tending to mitigate the evils caused by the demolition of labourers' homes in the metropolis. It was stated by Lord Redesdale in reply, that, in consequence of the alteration in the Standing Orders on March the 21st, clauses arranging for such trains to be run had been inserted in the Railway Bills now before the House, and would serve as guides for the future.

In 1852 Lord Shaftesbury had brought before the House of Lords the subject of criminal lunatics, and had urged that a state asylum should be erected for this class, who proved a great hindrance to the effective working of the asylums in which they were placed among other patients. Their presence nullified, or at

* Hansard's Debates, 3 s., clxii. 145.

least impeded, the operation of the system of non-restraint—"a system, the great and blessed glory of modern science, which, by the blessing of God, had achieved miracles." *

On a promise being given by Lord Derby that the subject should not be lost sight of, Lord Shaftesbury withdrew his motion. It was not, however, till 1860 that the Act was passed which resulted in the erection of the State Criminal Asylum at Broadmoor.

Meanwhile, in 1859, a panic on the subject of mad-houses had arisen in the public mind. A few distressing circumstances, which were made public, were magnified by journalists and novelists to such an extent that an opinion became prevalent that cruelty and injustice once more reigned supreme in English asylums. The House of Commons appointed a Select Committee, which, after hearing a large amount of evidence, came to the conclusion that "the public asylums were well looked after and carefully attended to." They recommended, however, that better accommodation should be provided for a large proportion of the 68,000 pauper lunatics still detained in the wards of workhouses.

Lord Shaftesbury was naturally the principal witness examined by the Select Committee, and his evidence gives a succinct history of the whole *régime* of lunatic asylums from the year 1828, many features of which we have glanced at in the course of this narrative.†

* Hansard, 3 s., cxix. 1237.

† See Minutes of Evidence of Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1859, p. 65.

In 1861 an effort was made to establish a Benevolent Asylum for the Insane of the Middle Classes, especially for those of limited means, and to this movement Lord Shaftesbury gave his full sympathy and practical support. There was a fear prevalent that insanity was on the increase in this country, and the startling fact had become apparent that the lower classes, in cases of mental affliction, were in a greatly better position than the middle classes. The fees in the first-class establishments were prohibitive, and the pauper asylums were already inadequate to meet the demands made upon them. It thus happened that, in the great majority of cases, the sufferer received no proper treatment at all till the malady became chronic, which, if properly treated at an earlier stage, might only have been temporary.

The public journals took up the question warmly, especially the *Lancet*, and the result was, that on the 19th of April a public meeting was held in the Freemasons' Hall, under the presidency of Lord Shaftesbury, to discuss the question, and, if possible, to found an asylum for the middle classes. In the course of his speech he said:—

> If we can take a case in its very first development, and submit it to the wise, parental, and judicious care of some honest man, the probability is, as we know from experience, and as it has been stated by persons of the greatest authority, that from 75 to 85 per cent., and even more, may be restored to a state of sanity. But, if the case be allowed to grow inveterate, if it be allowed to remain over twelve months and to enter upon the second year, few medical men will venture to say that 5 per cent. out of the number could have any well-grounded hope held out of restoration to society.

Remember the class for whom these institutions are intended. Take first the case of the small tradesman. Suppose the disease attacks the wife; if it attacks the wife, we know the anxiety, the misery, the suffering, and the expense to which the husband is exposed in being deprived of his right hand. But supposing it attacks the father, see what happens. He begins by some strangeness of conduct; he is queer, he is moody, he neglects his business. He enters, perhaps, into profligate, dissipated, and extravagant habits. At first his relatives do not see whence this arises; and when they do discover the malady, they try to keep him at home as long as possible, to avoid the expense of an asylum. The lowest figure at which he can be admitted is one guinea a week, and, perhaps, that is more than the profits of the whole business amount to. See, then, what anxiety the relatives must suffer—what a state of mind they must be in. And see how it affects the business. It soon transpires that the man is in a strange state of mind; that he is supposed to be mad; and people begin to shrink from his house, the customers fall off, the decrease in the receipts tends to the augmentation of the disorder, and the whole family is plunged in distress.

He then proceeded to picture the effect of such a calamity occurring in the families of poor clergymen, half-pay officers, medical men, legal students, young men coming from a distance up to London, with merely enough to sustain them during the period of their studies, clerks in banking-houses, and all those who live by salaries and daily exertions, like governesses and tutors. "What," he asked, "can be worse, or more miserable, than the condition of those persons under the affliction of insanity?"

The whole scope of the proposal was then fully discussed, and much enthusiasm was shown by the audience. Over £760 was subscribed in the room, towards the £5,000 required to make the first experiment, but,

although the whole matter was much applauded at the time, nothing came of it then, and it was apparently allowed to drop. The effort, however, was not without its immediate results, for it aroused public sympathy in the question, and although the sympathy was not shown in the exact manner contemplated by the promoters of the meeting, it gave a stimulus to exertion in other directions, tending to benefit the class for whom this special effort was designed.

Like much of the bread cast upon the waters by Lord Shaftesbury, it was "found after many days." Among the audience that day was Mr. Thomas Holloway. The scheme, as unfolded by Lord Shaftesbury, deeply impressed him, and harmonised so completely with his desire to benefit his fellow-citizens without pauperising them, that he resolved, there and then, that, should his prosperity continue, he would himself establish such an institution as had been that day foreshadowed. A quarter of a century later, that is to say, on June the 15th, 1885, the Holloway Sanatorium, in the midst of the beautiful heath and forest of the district of Virginia Water, was opened by the Prince of Wales, the first of the completed institutions which will be ever associated with Mr. Holloway's name. Up to that date he had expended £300,000 upon that magnificent institution.

An incident in connection with this matter may be narrated here. In 1864 Lord Shaftesbury received the following letter:—

Mr. J. Bowen May to Lord Shaftesbury.

BOLTON HOUSE, RUSSELL SQUARE,

13*th April*, 1864.

MY LORD,—A gentleman, who is possessed of nearly a quarter of a million, is about to make a settlement of it (after providing for his relatives) for charitable uses.

Knowing your great philanthropy and your experience in such matters, I advised him to be guided by your Lordship as to the disposal of this property, if you would condescend to take an interest in the subject.

If your Lordship assent, might I ask the favour of an audience?

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's very obedient servant,

J. BOWEN MAY.

On the 25th of May in that year Mr. Holloway called on Lord Shaftesbury, and the question was fully discussed. Mr. Holloway had, prior to that visit, determined to spend the whole of his money on one object, and on one building; but from this course he was dissuaded by Lord Shaftesbury. Mr. Holloway died in 1883, two years before the magnificent Sanatorium at Virginia Water was opened, and three years before the opening of the still more magnificent Ladies' College at Egham, founded at a cost of £450,000.

Whatever mistakes Lord Shaftesbury may have made from time to time in the course of his long career—and that he did make mistakes occasionally no one will attempt to gainsay—it was not from lack of caution

that they, as a rule, occurred. In nine cases out of ten they arose from the misleadings of others. The pitfalls he escaped were out of all proportion to those into which he fell. An illustration may be cited here.

Affairs in Italy aroused great religious fervour in England, and efforts were made to spread the knowledge of the Gospel there. In declining to accept the presidency of a Society formed for this purpose, Lord Shaftesbury wrote thus to the Secretary :—

Lord Shaftesbury to the Rev. John Shedlock.

TORQUAY, 30*th March*, 1861.

SIR,—My interest for the temporal and spiritual welfare of Italy is unabated, and it will continue so, I sincerely hope, to the very end of my life.

I am ready also to take any steps myself, or aid the steps of others, which may continue to advance these great issues. But those steps must be marked by everything that is prudent and considerate, and by all that is the result of experience.

The first point that I observe, as containing no one of these requisites, is the title you have chosen for the meeting—'The Evangelisation of Italy!' This is, of itself, sufficient to rouse against your efforts the feelings and indignation both of the governing powers and of every Italian in the country. It would at once, in their apprehensions, and in that of many others, be an announcement that they were to be treated as heathens, as men requiring the service of missions and instruction in the first principles of the Gospel.

Whatever views may be entertained in England of the Roman Catholic religion, this is not the mode to permeate a whole nation of intellectual men, with high traditions, ancient history—men, too, who have lately achieved great and noble things in the way of 'religious liberty,' that they are utterly ignorant of the fundamentals of Christianity, and need the instruction of a Protestant people.

Having these views, which I hold very strongly, I regret that I

cannot accept the honourable office you have been so good as to offer me.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

SHAFTESBURY.

On the 2nd of April he wrote to Mr. Haldane :—

I have had much conversation with Azeglio. He says to me, on the part of Cavour, that the Italian Government is most friendly to the great and complete circulation of the Scriptures, and to religious liberty; but that the headstrong zeal of many English enthusiasts will compel him to become antagonistic. God give us true wisdom and true zeal!

Only two months later and the following entry occurs in the Diary :—

June 6th.—This day news of the death of Cavour. Victor Emmanuel is loosed from his wise, far-seeing, bold adviser. There will be joy in Vienna, joy in Rome, joy in Berlin, joy in Russia, joy even in London among Derby's host, but sorrow and fear in every heart that hates oppression, wishes well to mankind, and prefers, to all historical and benumbing traditions of frontiers and monarchies, 'to do justice and love mercy.'

I deplore his loss personally. He was ever kind and considerate to me. We never appealed to him in vain to repress ecclesiastical tyranny.

On the death of Count Cavour Baron Ricasoli succeeded to the post of President of the Council—an office he retained until the 2nd of March, 1862. The following is a translation of his reply to a letter addressed to him by Lord Shaftesbury in January of that year :—

Baron Ricasoli to Lord Shaftesbury.

TURIN, 14*th February*, 1862.

MY LORD,—I very highly esteem your letter of the 31st January last, and it has been a great pleasure to me to hear of the interest

you and your fellow-countrymen take in Italian affairs, and of the sympathy with our cause which is felt in England. I am grateful to the Government that so ably expresses the sentiments of the noble English nation, and I am convinced that Italians will never cease to acknowledge the earnest and vigorous moral support which their wise and honourable revolution has met with in England.

No one of a lofty and generous disposition can be indifferent to what is happening in Italy. The revolution here is for the sake of the most sacred principles, such as national independence and civil and religious liberty—the keystones of the prosperity of nations and the peace of the world. Thanks to these two forces it is certain that the cause of humanity will be developed in the struggle that has been assigned to her by Providence. To hold out the hand to Italy is to perform a great moral work. God grant that I may be found in the midst of it, devoting to it my best efforts.

There is still a great point to be gained. Rome is Italian, and Italy needs her. It is impossible for us to have peace internally in our houses until the French troops have quitted Rome. The Pope's custodians will consist of Romans, indeed of the Italian people. The Italian revolution has been a result of labours of self-sacrifice and magnanimity. I am sure that the people of Rome will be proud to guard the inviolable sanctity of the Pontiff, although they will no longer recognise him as king. A solution of the Roman Question cannot be much longer delayed. The presence of the French in Rome has no longer any justification, and becomes a daily increasing source of danger. The ideas of secret expeditions that have been spread abroad latterly have grown out of the nation's impatience and of the obstacles France opposes to her fulfilling her destiny, and above all, to her possessing her capital.

Continue, my Lord, to wish us well; for the Italians will ever imitate the English in their love of independence and liberty.

With best wishes and esteem, your devoted

RICASOLI.

In the course of the summer of 1861 civil war broke out in America. It was inevitable that the cotton supply, then almost exclusively American, must fail,

and India, which should have been able to take up the cultivation, was being desolated by famine. On the 5th of July, Lord Shaftesbury, in the House of Lords, moved an address to the Crown to extend in India the best systems of irrigation and internal navigation. His speech was a masterpiece of painstaking research. He refers to it thus:—

> This evening, in House of Lords, motion on India. Perhaps few of my efforts have cost me so much trouble, to select, cut down, prepare and arrange extracts, statements, and facts.

Briefly, the case was this:—The north-west of India had recently been afflicted by a famine, for the relief of which the British public subscribed more than a hundred thousand pounds; another such visitation was threatening the Madras Presidency. In both cases the result was to be attributed, in great measure, to the fact that rivers, irrigation streams, and canals had become obstructed; the tanks and watercourses—the glory of native princes—had become the reproach of their successors. If the Government were as prompt as the public were liberal, such calamities might be averted throughout the whole empire, and the benefits thus conferred on India would be abundantly returned to England, in the shape of an exhaustless field of cotton supply, and a boundless market for our manufactures.

In his speech Lord Shaftesbury said:—

> The Famine proves unmistakably the defect of irrigation; and the revolution shows the great hazard to which we are exposed, in depending almost entirely on a single source for the supply of cotton. It is not my intention to put India in the place of America,

I indicate it only as one great source, and to say that we might safely be dependent on India alone for our cotton supply; but the subject of our cotton supply is worthy of serious reflection, inasmuch as four or five millions of mouths, in the manufacturing districts, are dependent for their daily bread upon a constant supply of that article. While recognising West African and Australian sources for a portion of our supply, we may, for present purposes, confine our consideration to what may be produced by the territory of India. It is not necessary to enter upon the inquiry whether the famine might have been prevented, or the short supply of cotton foreseen. The fact is, the evils are before us, and we have to consider whether we can do anything to prevent the recurrence of such formidable mischiefs.

They were timely words, but they failed to stir the ten or a dozen peers who were present at the commencement, or the fifty or sixty who sauntered in and out during the discussion. Lord Ellenborough took notes during the speech, but said nothing in the debate. Lord de Grey made an official reply, and did the best he could for the Government, but he called no fact in question. Three other lords conceded all the main points of the argument, but the House would not join in the Address to the Crown. Nevertheless, Lord Shaftesbury was the first man in Parliament to apprehend and demonstrate that the wealth of India depended upon its waters, that its wealth was wasted by neglecting them, and that it might be indefinitely augmented by utilising them. He was, moreover, the pioneer of that policy, long since adopted, of not depending only on one source of cotton supply.

A brief entry in the Diary indicates a wide field of labour, the results of which were to be made known a few years later.

August 15th.—Brocket. Obtained, in House of Lords, a renewal of my enquiry, instituted twenty years ago, into the labour of children and young persons. No notice from many papers and only sneers from others. Yet it is a great question, and involves much for the happiness, honour, and security of the kingdom.

While all the labours referred to in this and the preceding chapter were in progress, a great sorrow had been gnawing the heart of Lord Shaftesbury. His beloved daughter, Mary, had been for a long time a great sufferer from lung disease, and was gradually fading out of life. A few of the touching incidents of that long and anxious period of painful suspense, we extract from the Diary :—

Feb. 3rd, 1861.—Torquay. Sunday. Took Lord's Supper with Minny. Thankful, very thankful, to have this opportunity, as we are to be separated to-morrow for a far longer time than has ever yet occurred in our married life. She must remain here with poor dear Mary; and I must go to re-commence the work of the Session. Such will be our separation until the month of May, should God permit us to reach that period. To surrender public life, and all the cares of the poor and destitute—the ragged race—and all the physical and moral sufferings of London and mankind, merely to spare ourselves a little grief and a little anxiety, would not be right, and certainly not satisfactory. I must continue my work, so long as God gives me strength, while there is work to be done, not only while it can be done in circumstances pleasant to myself.

The solitude of my once cheerful house in London will be very great.

Aug. 10th.—A year and a-half has Minny nursed this heart-rending malady. Her attentions, waitings, watchings, have been incessant. Wound up and let down again; in joy and despair; without intermission, repose, change. During the last few days, under singular intensity of doubt, distress, sympathy, terror, she held on until the doctor, last night, declared that he saw and

entertained no hope. Then all gave way; the stream broke its banks; and power, endurance, almost vitality, ran over, and left her stranded in exhaustion and weakness. Was there ever such a nurse? Were ever judgment, tact, skill, sympathy, affection, love, so blended, and so administered, before?

Aug. 29th.—Torquay. Old Hooker, that blessed saint of God, lying on his death-bed, prayed, 'Since I owe Thee a death, Lord, let it not be terrible; but Thy will, not mine, be done.'

And so now I pray on her behalf.

Aug. 31st.—Minny can rest neither day nor night. Yesterday we may say that for twenty hours she was not from her side more than twice; and each time not more than ten minutes. The mother's devotion to the child, and the child's affection to the mother, are God's own gifts.

Two things have been, and are still, in my heart—a prayer and a wish; a prayer for a comforting sign of her acceptance in Christ her Saviour; a wish that she may go out, like my blessed Francis, in the bright day, and not in the darkness and solitude of the night!

Sept. 1st.—Sunday. Requested Mr. Fayle to move his congregation to pray for Mary, and to name her. There is power, I doubt not, in the united prayer of assembled worshippers; and it is a good thing to show what a leveller death is, and how much we all stand in need of each other. I am astonished at, and bless God for, her gentleness, meekness, goodness; such trials I have never seen or heard of.

Sept. 3rd.—At twenty minutes past three this morning, it pleased Almighty God, by taking the soul of darling Mary to Himself, to close her indescribable sufferings.

I submit to the Divine decree, I confess His wisdom and goodness; and yet a positive horror is upon me when I think of her dreadful agonies. It will never, it can never, be effaced! How I wish that God would reveal to me, before the time when all things will be known, His purpose, in such awful severity!

Lord Shaftesbury to Mr. Haldane.

LONDON, *Sept. 10th*, 1861.

DEAR MR. HALDANE,—You will have heard by this time, from the papers, that nearly a week ago my precious child entered into

her rest. How she needed that rest, how deep, prolonged, and fierce were her trials God only knows and those who witnessed them. But she did not murmur; neither do we. 'What I do,' said our blessed Lord, 'thou knowest not *now*, but thou shalt know hereafter.' We accept, then, and submit in faith, being assured that, as God is absolute and perfect wisdom, absolute and universal mercy, He was not unfaithful to Himself in this particular.

But these sufferings have impressed on my mind, and on my wife's, a fixed and profound horror. It was a month of special agony; but the last week was such as no tongue nor pen can describe. How can I forget it? How can I ever think less of it? In no way but by seeing her 'carried by angels into Abraham's bosom,' there to dwell with the Lord, whom she loved and served, for ever and ever. And we do see it, and others see it: the children, the poor: those two her special regard for Christ's sake, her peculiar and almost exclusive consideration. Her faculty and love of teaching children were Heaven-sent; her appearance in the infant school closed all eyes and ears but to her; and truly, heartily, did that inestimable girl deal out to them the Bread of Life.

Perhaps, some day, it may interest you to hear details of her short and suffering, though blessed, career. They cannot be committed to paper; the living voice alone is equal to it. The gap made in this family is very wide; never did child so command, at least, *more* command, the love of parents, brothers and sisters.

But God give us strength. I stagger under the blow; but by His grace I shall yet walk upright to do His service while life and health remain . .

Yours truly,

SHAFTESBURY.

After these sad and sorrowful days, and as soon as circumstances would permit, Lord and Lady Shaftesbury went abroad. Shortly after their return, an honour, which had been offered to Lord Shaftesbury in 1854, and declined, was renewed by Lord Palmerston, and accepted. The circumstances, together with other

matters of interest, are narrated in the following correspondence :—

Lord Palmerston to Lord Shaftesbury.

94, PICCADILLY, 10*th Dec.*, 1861.

MY DEAR SHAFTESBURY,—There is one of the vacant Garters which has not yet been allotted. I very much wish you would take it; I am sure that its being given to you would gratify the whole country. You declined it, I know, upon a former occasion, but that is no reason against your taking it now. . . .

Yours sincerely,

PALMERSTON.

Lord Palmerston to Lord Shaftesbury.

94, PICCADILLY, 11*th Dec.*, 1861.

MY DEAR SHAFTESBURY,—There is no hurry about your decision, as nothing can be done in the matter for some little time to come; but I hope you will accept, as I think such an application of the Order would be creditable to the Crown and gratifying to the country. You may possibly anticipate a difficulty on the subject of the fees, but I think I can see my way to overcome that. It is, in fact, a gross abuse that honours given by the Crown as marks of approbation should have the operation of personal taxes.

The Prince, I regret to say, is seriously ill, though the Queen is anxious that the country should not be alarmed about him. What he has, is one of those intestinal fevers which last a given time, and require careful watching. Anxiety about him will not cease for ten days to come, and I scarcely know how I can go out of town during that time. There will be a bulletin in the papers to-morrow. Do not state to any one, beyond Minny, your knowledge of anything more than the bulletin may contain.

But the fact is, he is in great danger. Watson, who has been called in, is a skilful man, and Jenner, one of the Court physicians, is specially conversant with fevers; and the main thing to be done

is to keep the animal functions going till nature can, by her own prowess, effect a cure.

I have seen Watson just now, who says there are at present no bad symptoms, but that in some respects, such as pulse, the Prince is somewhat better. I cannot calmly contemplate the extent of the calamity which an unfavourable issue would produce.

Yours affectionately,

PALMERSTON.

On the evening of the same day the following entry was made in the Diary :—

Dec. 11th.—St. Giles's. May God be gracious. The Prince Consort is dangerously ill. Raise him up, O Lord, from the bed of sickness, for Christ's sake. I shrink from contemplating the calamity. I see and feel the shock to the Queen. She has never known sorrow, and is unprepared for it. It will leave her melancholy, friendless, without a support, an adviser ; no one to aid her in public affairs, no one in private.

To Lord Palmerston's friendly and generous proposals Lord Shaftesbury sent the following reply :—

Lord Shaftesbury to Lord Palmerston.

Dec. 14th, 1861.

MY DEAR PALMERSTON,—You will, I am sure, believe that your kindness has deeply impressed me, and that I regard your offer as another of the friendly acts I have so often received at your hands.

Had the offer come from any one else I should not have hesitated for one moment to give a reply. But I paused in this case, because I did not like to say 'no' without some previous deliberation.

Though I do not desire the honour of the Garter; though I had much rather be without it; pray do not think that I wish to depreciate such things, and that I do not admit their full value in the general working of society. But, in my own particular case, I am

indifferent to the mere possession of them, and it seems a waste of influence to bestow, on me, a mark of this distinction, who am, and who, by God's blessing, will continue to be, your friend and supporter when some, who are doubtful, might be won, and others, who are clamorous, might be satisfied, by such a remembrance of their merits. If it were conferred as the stamp of long public services, as upon yourself, I might possibly take a different view. But the services such as I have been able to render are not considered 'public' by most of the better classes, at least in the sense of deserving public recognition. Failing that, station, combined with fortune, has ever been the basis of the grant. Of station I may have enough; as to fortune, I am not qualified for the 'equestrian order.'

And here come the fees, which amount to a fearful sum. This weighs down the balance at once, for, with my limited income, I should not be justified towards myself, my children, and my dependents, in incurring so grievous an expense for a simple decoration.

In your kindness you hint that there are modes of overcoming this difficulty. I understood the liberal and delicate suggestion, so entirely in harmony with every thought of your heart. But I could never consent that this large expenditure should be made by another, merely to invest me with a Ribbon, and more especially when I know that, in the opinion of the world, your personal affection, and not my public deserts, would be regarded to have been the governing principle of the nomination.

With sincere and lasting sense of your kindness,

Believe me, truly yours,

SHAFTESBURY.

For the Prince Consort, Lord Shaftesbury had always felt the strongest personal regard, amounting to affection. On that terrible Sunday when the booming of the great bell of St. Paul's, and the flashing of telegrams, spread the intelligence of the great calamity that had befallen the nation in his untimely death, there were few, perhaps, outside the immediate

circle of the Royal Family, to whom the sad news brought with it a keener sorrow. He wrote:—

Dec. 16th.—London. Heard at Ringwood this morning that the Prince was dead! Short of my own nearest and dearest, the shock could not have been greater! The desolation of the Queen's heart and life! the deathblow to her happiness on earth! God, in His mercy, sustain and comfort her! The disruption of domestic existence unprecedented in royal history, the painful withdrawal of a prop, the removal of a counsellor, a friend in all public, all private affairs, the sorrows she has, the troubles that await her—all rend my heart as though the suffering were my own. To me they, both of them, were ever kind, and both expressed deep sympathy when it pleased the Lord to take my Francis and Mary.

How we must pray that God's Holy Spirit be shed on her heart, and Christ Himself be made manifest to her!

I hear, too, that my valued friend and coadjutor in efforts for the sanitary improvements of England is gone—the learned, warm-hearted, highly-gifted Southwood Smith.

As in the Diaries for 1859 and 1860 so in the Diary for 1862 there are but few entries. He had, however, resumed, in 1861, after an interval of twenty years, his "Journal of passing events," in which he recorded from day to day a summary of principal occurrences, more especially with reference to the American war. From this Journal, as there is little in it personal to himself, further than the expression of his views on the events as they occurred (and many of these views, written on the spur of the moment, were afterwards modified or changed as further information was received), we do not propose to quote. It is a valuable volume, however, breathing in every line the intense and absorbing interest he took in the progress

of those mighty movements which were to issue in the liberation of the slaves, and indicating in every page, as he pointed out in a letter to the *Times* at the commencement of the war, that "the triumph of the South meant the consolidation of slavery, and his sympathies were, therefore, wholly for the North."

Returning to his private Diary, we find the following as the first entry for 1862 :—

Jan. 2nd, 1862.—The observations on a new year can have no novelty; they are trite, invariably the same, and yet invariably touching and full of interest. It is like standing 'in the old paths:' they are worn, but they lead to your home—the home of body, mind, soul, and spirit.

What an obituary for the year which is gone! . . . Cavour, the Bishop of Durham, Lady Canning, the Prince Consort, all in the prime of life.

Add to the obituary the Duchess of Kent, Lord Aberdeen, the Lord Chancellor Campbell, Sir James Graham, Lord Herbert.

Lord Palmerston had persevered in his determination that the signal honour of the Order of the Garter should be accepted by Lord Shaftesbury, who refers to it thus :—

May 19th.—Strange to say I am become 'a Knight of the Garter.' I refused it under Aberdeen and I accept it under Palmerston. I could not persist in refusal, so great was his anxiety, and so many and so urgent his arguments. I wished, on many grounds, to avoid the honour; but obstinacy in refusal would have been almost personal to him, and misunderstood in myself. I do not despise, nor would I publicly depreciate, such rewards. They have their real value. And I felt bound to act against my own inclinations. It has, in some respects, been very successful, and has been thankfully taken by many as a tribute to certain opinions, and an acknowledgment of services hitherto considered to be of no

public value. So far I rejoice, and say 'that, though it is nothing, it is something.'

How my precious, precious Mary would have been pleased! But the darling has better things to please her now.

June 29th.—I resisted very specially on the ground of expense; fees amounting to something not far short of a thousand pounds. P. assured me that such demands he considered to be a shameful impost on those whom the Crown wished to honour, and that he would make an arrangement with the Treasury. I have reason to believe that the arrangement he made was to pay the whole expenses himself, but to keep it secret from me. This is, indeed, truly generous and friendly.

It was in this year that the terrible cotton famine—consequent upon the failure of the supplies of cotton from the Southern States of America—caused such wide-spread misery among the population of our great manufacturing centres. In that crisis, party strife seemed to die away, and men of all opinions were bent on co-operating in whatever policy and measures were for the public good. Lord Shaftesbury loved the Lancashire people, with whom the sympathies of all his life had been bound up, and in the time of their great trial he watched their attitude with the keenest interest. Speaking of them at the annual meeting of the Pastoral Aid Society, he said:—

There is nothing finer on earth than a Lancashire man or a Lancashire woman. I have known these people now for a great number of years; I have observed the strength of their feelings, the ardour with which they pursue an object, the deep and undying sense which they entertain of any act of kindness which has been done to them. I really do not believe there is such another race of people to be found on the face of the earth . . . They are one of the most independent people on earth; they will bear no dictation, and will listen to no advice unless fully assured that it comes from

a sincere heart. They are a people kind and open-hearted, a people ready to receive instruction in religion, orderly and loyal—and they are, at the present time, exhibiting such an heroic, patient, and Christian-like bearing, that I really believe it could scarcely be matched amongst the most educated, enlightened, and Christian men in the land. I confess I am moved to tears when I think of the endurance of those people and of the magnanimous spirit in which their privations are borne. The letters which I receive would, I am sure, go to the heart of any one; and yet there is no complaint, no demand for assistance, no desire for the interposition of Government; they only hope that that relief which the law allows may be extended to them, and they trust that a good time may soon come, when trade will again revive and they will be able to subsist by their honest industry.

It required no little self-denial for Lord Shaftesbury to refrain from going into Lancashire to visit the people in the time of their distress. He knew, however, that if he did so, it would unsettle many of the movements which were in harmonious operation; and he feared it would lay himself open to the charge that he was creating an independent movement for his own glory. This would operate, in the long run, prejudicially to the Operatives, for whom he had yet many schemes of amelioration in reserve.

On the first indication, however, of a turbulent spirit in Lancashire, he wrote to counsel them and to remind them of promises made to him years ago. That letter was distributed in every town and village in the county and it had an excellent effect. It is notorious that there was never a word against the ruling powers of the day, sent forth from Lancashire.

There was a lull in Lord Shaftesbury's legislative efforts during 1862. With the exception of an "Act

to amend the Law relating to Lunatics," which was passed this year, he does not appear to have brought forward any new measure. This Act made pauper lunatics chargeable to the union instead of to the parish, instituted various safeguards against the incarceration of sane persons, and provided for increased visitation, and further protection for single patients.

In the course of his speech Lord Shaftesbury narrated an anecdote to show that eminent men sometimes formed their opinions as to the sanity of a patient on very flimsy evidence. Once when he was sitting on the Commission as Chairman the alleged insanity of a lady was under discussion, and he took a view of the case opposite to that of his colleagues. One of the medical men who was there to give evidence, crept up to his chair and, in a confidential tone, said, "Are you aware, my lord, that she subscribes to the Society for the Conversion of the Jews?" "Indeed!" replied Lord Shaftesbury; "and are you aware that I am President of that Society!"

In 1863, England, in common with all civilised nations, was thrilled with horror at the cruel and ruthless manner in which Russia was engaged in putting down an insurrection in Poland. The tyranny of the rulers of this unhappy country had often provoked sanguinary struggles, and for years the downtrodden people had waited for vengeance. In 1861 some 30,000 people were assembled near the battle-field of Grochow; they were engaged in singing requiems and in prayer for the souls of those who had fallen,

when the Russian cavalry charged in among them, slaughtered a number of persons, and arrested many others. An intense national feeling was kindled throughout the country. The indignant populace joined in other demonstrations of a patriotic character, and the result was fresh massacres by the Russian soldiery. A fierce hatred of everything Russian grew and spread, and most of the Poles in the service of the Czar resigned or deserted. The authorities retaliated with measures of a sternly repressive character. The Poles were forbidden to meet together, even in the churches, and all who wore mourning for relatives killed in the massacres were severely punished. The excitement was allayed for a time by the nominal introduction of some liberal reforms, but the Poles knew too well that the Russian Government was not to be trusted to carry them out, and in October of the same year fresh disturbances took place. Poland was declared in a state of siege, and an era of guerilla warfare, without any decisive conflicts, commenced. In February, 1863, the Committee of the National Insurrection issued its first proclamation, and almost immediately afterwards the standard of revolt was raised by Mieroslavski on the Posen frontier. District after district rose in insurrection, and the Proclamations of the Committee directed the action of the insurgents. Britain remonstrated repeatedly (either separately or in conjunction with other nations) on behalf of the Poles, and France, Spain, Austria, Sweden, Italy, Portugal, Denmark, and the Netherlands, all intervened

diplomatically for the same object. But these remonstrances were utterly disregarded by the Czar and his Ministers. News of one horror after another continued to rouse the indignation of Europe. Everywhere in Poland blood was flowing freely, and the midnight sky was red with the flames of burning villages and homesteads. Fines and confiscations brought all the wealthier inhabitants to the verge of ruin, and the whole population of suspected villages was put to the sword. The National Committee were not slow in making reprisals wherever possible, and the land was given up to a reign of terror.

Such was the state of affairs in Poland when, on March the 17th, 1863, a meeting, convened in the name of the Lord Mayor, was held in the Guildhall, to express English sympathy with the Poles. It was an enthusiastic gathering, and Lord Shaftesbury, in response to repeated calls, came forward to address the meeting. The speech he made on that occasion he was wont to consider as the greatest he ever made; referring to it twenty years afterwards he said, "It tore me to pieces to deliver it." The following outline merely indicates the general tenor:—

There was, he was convinced, scarcely a man in England who had a heart capable of appreciating what was great, and true, and noble, who did not feel the deepest sympathy with the suffering and oppressed people of Poland. Was, he would ask, the gallant struggle which they were making to free themselves from that suffering and that oppression, to be characterised, as was sometimes the case, as rebellion? No; it was a great and glorious uprising of a wronged and abused nation, driven to despair by a series of cruelties unprecedented in history. For such cruelties, the records of the past

furnished scarcely any parallel; they equalled in refinement those which the Emperor Tiberius was said to have inflicted. No shadow of right, he might add, could be shown on the part of Russia to justify the course in regard to Poland which she pursued. Maria Theresa, when she had agreed to that partition which had been the source of so much subsequent woe, had protested that Europe would look upon the act as one of the greatest crimes that had ever been committed. The Emperor Francis, moreover, had been led to declare that the partition of Poland, though the work of those who had preceded him, so weighed upon his conscience that he was ready to surrender his share of the spoil; while the present Sovereign of Austria seemed much disposed to follow in the steps of his ancestor Maria Theresa. The conscience of all Europe, in short, revolted against what had been done in the case of Poland. The rights of the people of that country, too, were not to be prescribed and defined by treaties. Those rights existed long antecedent to the Treaty of Vienna, and rested upon a still better basis as the inalienable and indefeasible inheritance of man. The time, he trusted, was not far distant too, when Poland would be once more admitted into the family of nations, and would start again in the newness of life and the fulness of liberty upon a glorious career. The present rising in the country, he might add, had been marked by great sagacity, as well as great judgment and good feeling. That great man, General Langiewicz, had, like another Garibaldi, turned up, as it were, for the occasion. Let the meeting mark the prudence which he had so recently displayed. He had received from Garibaldi a letter tendering to him his services, but his reply, while thanking him in the name of the Polish nation for his generous offer, was, 'Come not here; our movement must have in it nothing of a revolutionary character. Let the Poles work out their destiny. We want your sympathy, but we must decline your active co-operation.' It behoved the people of England too, not only to answer that appeal for sympathy, but simultaneously to give expression to the language of denunciation. Let it go forth from that meeting that the English nation condemned in the strongest manner the violence, the cruelty, the savagery to which, to an extent unparalleled—almost in the case of the Red Indians—the Czar and his myrmidons lent their sanction. Let them be told that by such acts they disgraced themselves in the eyes of the world and violated every principle of

Christianity. Let it, moreover, be told the Poles, that we entertained for them the deepest and most heartfelt admiration, and that we should exert ourselves to the utmost to rouse, in their behalf, the moral support of all mankind. Public opinion at the present day was a thing very different from that which it was in times gone by. Brought to bear on our diplomacy, on the action of the legislature, and on the language of the Cabinet, it could not, if it emanated from the universally expressed feeling of England, fail to produce a lasting effect. It was not necessary to say how far we might be prepared to follow it up by blows. The time had not come when it was requisite to enter into that point, for we might rest satisfied that no mere threats of war, no mere words of intimidation, would have greater weight with Russia than if we could bring her to see, that if she persisted in her present policy towards Poland, she would be isolated from the rest of Europe, and stand before the world as an hideous example of despotic power, founded on cruelty and bloodshed. He would simply ask the meeting, in conclusion, to appeal to the Throne of Grace to grant the prayer, 'May God defend the Right!'

Once committed to any subject, Lord Shaftesbury always followed it up to practical issues. Again and again in the House of Lords, by questions addressed to the Government, he called attention to the Polish cause. An effort on the part of England, France, and Austria to induce the other signatories of the Treaty of Vienna to move the Russian Government to conciliation having been unsuccessful, Lord Shaftesbury, on the 8th of May, when presenting, among others, the petition from the great meeting at the Guildhall, and moving that these petitions do lie upon the table, took the opportunity to enter fully into the whole subject, and to express what was undoubtedly the national sentiment. It was a speech which cost him much. Apart from the labour in the compilation of his facts and arguments, it

was a subject which made a heavy demand upon his sympathies. There was a passion and a pathos in his utterance which was never wrung from him more forcibly than when pleading the cause of oppressed nationalities. As in his memorable speech on the Ameers of Scinde, so now on behalf of the oppressed Poles, he threw his whole mind and soul and strength into his pleading.

We cannot record the speech (it occupied between two and three hours in delivery); the brief record of the one made at the Mansion House will, however, indicate its scope.

The sequel is only too well known. It was in vain that Great Britain, France, Austria, and other European Powers exerted their moral influence and exhausted all the forms of diplomatic remonstrance. Russia and Prussia, in close alliance, affected to see in the insurrection only a manifestation of the revolutionary power in Europe. In 1864 the Czar's troops, officiously aided by Prussia, and with the secret sympathy and support of Austria, succeeded in trampling out the last sparks of resistance to the Russian authority. Large numbers of men and women, and even children, who had been in some way or other concerned in the revolt, or who were merely suspected of having favoured it, were executed; others were driven off in crowds to Siberia; and so, by perseverance in these ruthless measures, "tranquillity was restored." Poland was deprived of the last remnant of administrative independence, and placed under the care of eight military governors.

In the Diary the only references to the subject are the following :—

February 28th.—Who can estimate? who can describe the wrongs of that country? There must be a Nemesis awaiting (where in history has it ever failed?) the guilty kingdoms that shared in the partition, and the kingdoms, accessory after the fact, that permitted it.

June 9th.—Have omitted all record of my motion on Poland in House of Lords. It was successful, and some civil things were said, if not felt. This tyranny is too much—it overbears all prudence, caution, restraint.

Miss Florence Nightingale was one of Lord Shaftesbury's correspondents, and all her letters he carefully treasured. The following, written in the course of this year, is characteristic of her style :—

Miss Florence Nightingale to Lord Shaftesbury.

HAMPSTEAD, N.W., *Aug. 15th*, 1863.

DEAR LORD SHAFTESBURY,—Always remembering that to you first we owe the giving of sanitary hope to our poor army, I should have ventured to solicit your acceptance of a copy of the complete report and evidence of our 'Indian Army Sanitary Commission.' It was, however, understood by us that it was to be *of course* presented to Parliament.

'By mistake,' Sir C. Wood presented (so he writes) a paltry 8vo containing only the report and a précis of evidence, simply ludicrous from its incompleteness.

'By mistake,' the type of the *two folio Blue Books* is broken up.

'By mistake,' it is not to be sold at the Parliamentary depôts.

'By mistake,' it is not to be published—not to be had—not to be distributed to Parliament.

A small number, however (50 only to the House of Lords, and 100 to the House of Commons), have been sent to Parliament, to be given to those members only who apply for them.

Would you apply for the *two folio Blue Books* for a copy for yourself?

We want immediate pressure made to obtain the Working Commissions: three in India, one for each Presidency, and one at home attached to the India and War Offices (to advise), which have been recommended in the Report.

I should be proud indeed to be called upon at any time for information by you.

Your faithful servant,

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

There was no man living for whom Lord Shaftesbury entertained a more affectionate regard than for Lord Palmerston; and, among all his friends, advisers, and counsellors, there was no one on whom Lord Palmerston more completely relied than on Lord Shaftesbury. In many respects—nay, in most—the two men were the very opposite of each other, and yet they constantly found themselves drawing nearer and nearer together in heart and purpose. There is nothing extraordinary in this. The stories of great friendships furnish a thousand notable instances of the same thing. What that friendship was to Lord Shaftesbury, we shall see more fully later on; one phase of it finds illustration here.

Lord Palmerston was a frank, outspoken man, and he ventured to speak or write to Lord Shaftesbury on subjects that no one else dared to approach. Thus, in 1861, he wrote to him on the delicate question of money matters:—

Lord Palmerston to Lord Shaftesbury.

94, PICCADILLY, 29*th Nov.*, 1861.

MY DEAR SHAFTESBURY,—Old Alava one day said to the Duke of Wellington that he had heard that the Duke's affairs at

Strathfieldsaye were not well managed, and required more looking into; the Duke replied, 'Mind your own affairs, and do not meddle with mine;' and he almost cut Alava for a couple of years afterwards; but at the end of that time he took him into favour again, and said that if he had attended, at the time, to what Alava had said he should have saved a good deal of money. Now, I have a better excuse for mentioning your affairs to you than Alava had with the Duke; because, besides my great regard and friendship for you, I have duties towards Emily's children and grandchildren. Now I, like Alava, have heard people talk, and I am afraid that from your kindness and generosity of feeling, and from your desire to improve every part of your large estate, you have been led, by your local manager at St. Giles's, to devote to local expenditure and improvements a much larger portion of your income than would, in the usual course of things, be allotted to such purposes, and that you have thus stinted yourself unnecessarily with regard to that part of your income which is available for general objects. Everybody knows that every servant and agent would, if they could, absorb the largest possible amount of their employer's income in their own department, and that it requires a very watchful hand to keep them within proportional bounds. I have myself been a sufferer in this way, for some years ago, when I was at the Foreign Office and unable to spare a moment to look into my accounts, I found on going out of office that my land steward had made away with three thousand pounds of my money, while he had been urging me to sell a farm to pay debts which the money he had purloined would have fully satisfied.

You have so much to do, with all the various occupations which absorb your time, that it is not likely that you should have leisure to go into a minute examination of the expenditure on your estate. Your agent may be better than mine was, and may be perfectly honest; though even honest agents sometimes think themselves entitled to percentages upon their employer's expenditure, and are tempted, therefore, to make it as large as they can. But, if report says true, he at one time kept race-horses and brood mares, and was connected with racing men, and, of course, was a betting man; all these things, if they do not lead a man astray, infuse into his mind habits of restlessness not very suitable to accurate economy.

Well, now, what I would wish to submit for your consideration is, whether it would not be worth your while to follow the example

of the late Duke of Rutland and the present Emperor of the French. The Duke found his expenses at Belvoir growing inconveniently high, and he asked Mr. Norman, his connection, to look into them, and the result was great economy and regulated order. The Emperor of the French has found that he was devoting to expenses in matters of great interest to him more than ought properly to be allotted to them, and he has called in Fould to look into his affairs and set them right.

I believe you employ Nichol and Burnett as your London solicitors; they are honest and honourable men, trustworthy, and men of business; why should you not employ one of them to go down to St. Giles's to examine, minutely, the accounts of your local agent, and to make you a report upon them and upon the state of your affairs, and to suggest, for your consideration, such arrangements as might appear deserving of adoption?

This is a measure which is often adopted, and I believe has generally been found advantageous; no local agent can reasonably object to such an investigation unless there be something which he wishes to conceal.

Yours sincerely,

PALMERSTON.

This advice was not given too soon. Lord Shaftesbury found himself becoming involved in serious financial difficulties, which, before long, became critical.

Lord Palmerston's religion was essentially practical. We have given a specimen of it in his reply to the Scotch Memorialists.* He was not the man to say, "Depart in peace, be ye warmed and filled;" and forget to "give those things which are needful to the body." And we are not surprised, therefore, to find the following entry in the Diary:—

July 19th, 1863.—Sunday. Happy that I was enabled to come to bless our dear Lord at His own table for deliverance, to a great

* Vol. ii., p. 456.

extent, from apprehensions and fears of financial difficulty and disgrace; for disgrace it will be to be seen as one irregular, embarrassed, half insolvent in money matters. Deep, bitter, exhausting, have been my efforts and anxieties for some time past. But God, in His mercy, has blunted the edge and averted the crisis. Matters were at the worst when Palmerston, whose liberality and kindness are not only *excessive*, but invariable, sent to Minny yesterday five thousand pounds, stating that he must be allowed to pay his half 'of her son's start in the world.' Oh, Lord, how can I thank *him* but by imploring *Thee* to bless him and my equally kind and liberal mother-in-law, with all that is best in time and in eternity.

The catastrophe prognosticated by Lord Palmerston was not long in coming.

Aug. 20th.—Spa. Have had various bothers of a grave kind. Have dismissed Waters,* under pretence of allowing him to resign. Shall never discover my whole loss by mismanagement, peculation, trickery, and direct fraud. It has been a yearly and an occasional plunder. Twelve thousand pounds, during the twelve years I have had him, is a very low estimate. It will, I fear, be much higher.

The extent of Lord Shaftesbury's losses were never really known. They were certainly much understated in his first calculation. For many years he was to have trouble and anxiety without ceasing—lawsuits without number, and vexations endless. It was a bitter ingredient in his cup, that, as the years advanced, the effort to keep free from debt became more and more difficult. It will not be necessary to dwell upon this subject, although throughout the Diaries for many years to come, there are touching passages to show how keenly he felt the position in which he was placed, how heartily he

* His steward.

loathed the necessity of legal processes, and how earnestly he prayed for deliverance. With any man of less courage and determination, this additional weight, added to the burden of life, would have impeded all further progress. It was not so with Lord Shaftesbury, and, despite the accumulation of anxieties, he set his face more steadfastly than ever towards the objects of his life.

After the passage last quoted there is a long gap in the Diary. The next entry is on Christmas Eve :—

December 24th.—St. Giles's. What an interval! and how irreparable! Nothing to be regretted, perhaps, but that I have not recorded my deep, deep sense of God's mercy to me and mine, through Christ Jesus, in bringing us safely to our own land. There was not one feeble person, nor one feeble thing 'among our tribes;' no sickness, no mishaps, no crosses, no delays, no fears, no *seen* dangers, no pain, no trouble, no disagreements. Not a hair fell, not a shoe-latchet was lost, every event agreeable, and every reminiscence pleasant. Health, too, vouchsafed to us all.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1864—1865.

Climbing Boys—Cruelties Practised upon them—Their Work and Rest—Slow Progress of Legislation—The 'Cant of Pseudo-Philanthropy'—The Chimney Sweepers' Regulation Act—Fails to Answer its Intended Purpose—Ten Years Later—Suffocated in a Flue—Manslaughter—The Chimney Sweepers' Emancipation Day—Forcible Language—Rapid Speaking—A Stern Rebuke—Justification of Strong Language—Theological Discussions—Neology—"Essays and Reviews"—Colenso on the Pentateuch—Renan's "Vie de Jésus"—"Ecce Homo"—The Creed of Neologians—The Worship of Intellect—Correspondence with Dr. Pusey—Letter from Bishop Wilberforce—Endowment of the Greek Chair, Oxford—Correspondence with Archdeacon Denison—In the Grisons—Letter to Mr. Haldane—Law Suits—Position of Parties in Church and State—English Liberality—With General Garibaldi—Friendship—Correspondence with the Duke de Persigny—Death of Rector of Wimborne St. Giles—Bishop of London's Fund—Illness of Lord Palmerston—The Political Outlook—Mr. John Stuart Mill—The Malta Protestant College—Death of Dowager Countess of Shaftesbury—Protestantism in Paris—Close of American War—Cattle Plague—Form of Prayer by Bishop of Oxford—A Pending Calamity.

THE story of the sufferings of the "Climbing Boys" employed by chimney sweepers, reads rather like a chapter from some terrible record of the Dark Ages, than a veritable chapter from the history of this enlightened century.

Little children, from four to eight years of age, the majority of them orphans, the rest bartered or sold by brutal parents, were trained to force their way up the long, narrow, winding passages of chimneys to clear away the soot. In order to do this, they had to move up and down by pressing every joint in their bodies

against the hard and often broken surface of the chimneys; and to prevent their hands and knees from streaming with blood, the children were rubbed with brine before a hot fire to harden the flesh.

But the sufferings of the climbing boys did not end here. Their skin being choked in every pore, they were liable to a frightful disorder, called chimney sweeper's (or sooty) cancer, involving one of the most terrible forms of physical suffering; they began the day's work at four, three, or even two, in the morning; they were half stifled by the hot sulphurous air in the flues; often they would get stuck in a chimney, and faint from the effects of terror, exhaustion, and foul air, and then, if the usual remedy of lighted straw failed to "bring them round," they were often half-killed, and sometimes killed outright, by the very means used to extricate them.

Such was their work. For their "rest," they had low, ill-drained, ill-ventilated, and noisome rooms or cellars and oftentimes slept upon the soot-heaps. For the whole week, perhaps for many weeks, they remained unwashed, and on Sundays they were generally shut up together, so that the neighbours might not see their miserable plight.

They were morally and intellectually degraded to the lowest possible point. Out of 384 boys examined by order of a Commission of Inquiry, so recently as 1864, only six could write and twenty-six could read, most of them very imperfectly.

The saddest point of all, perhaps, was that these

hapless little sufferers were the victims of the fireside comforts of others: the "scape-goats of civilisation," sacrifices to thoughtlessness or greed.

No one can have failed to be struck by Lord Shaftesbury's dogged and indomitable perseverance. When once he made a cause his own, whatever obstacles might stand in his way, he would not—

> Bate a jot
> Of heart or hope, but still bear up and steer
> Right onward.

Difficult as he had found it, in 1840, to procure an Act forbidding the employment by chimney sweepers of climbing boys, it was a far more formidable task to prevent its evasion. After the passing of the Act, it lay for some time dormant, and when attempts were made to enforce it, the most unscrupulous devices were resorted to, in order to nullify its operation. Efforts were made from time to time to render the Act more efficacious, but without success. In 1851, a Bill to amend the Chimney Sweepers' Regulation Act of 1840, passed the Lords and was read once in the Commons, but was then allowed to drop; and so little interest was taken in it, that neither Hansard nor the *Times* report a word concerning it, beyond the fact that it was read. In 1853, when endeavouring to get a Bill passed to remedy the imperfections of the existing Act, Lord Shaftesbury said, "he did not believe that all the records of all the atrocities committed in this country or in any other, could equal the records of cruelty, hardship, vice, and suffering, which, under the sanction

of the law, had been inflicted on this helpless and miserable race." *

Moderate as were the proposals made by Lord Shaftesbury, there was considerable opposition to the Bill, chiefly on the ground of, what was alleged to be, the absolute necessity, in some cases, of the employment of climbing boys.

Lord Beaumont spoke of the Bill as "a pitiful cant of pseudo-philanthropy;" and said of the former Bill, "that its sole effect had been that a few more houses had been burnt and a few more persons endangered under its operation, than would have been if it had never been passed." To this Lord Shaftesbury replied that, "he could only say that he trusted in God he should ever fall under his (Lord Beaumont's) censure, and under the censure of all those who, with him, could apply to the course he had taken, a charge of 'cant' and 'miserable legislation.'"

The Bill was ultimately referred to a Select Committee, and thirteen witnesses were examined; but, although the cruelty of the system was fully set forth, the Committee reported that it was inexpedient to proceed further. In 1854, therefore, Lord Shaftesbury again returned to the charge, and pleaded for the "four thousand wretched children who were at that time engaged in this disgusting and unnecessary employment." He stated that in Manchester, sixty master chimney sweepers had met and testified to the degradation, cruelty, ignorance, and vice inseparable

* Hansard, cxxvii. 198.

from the system, and to the readiness with which the "machines" could be effectually used instead of climbing boys. In London, "machines" were almost exclusively used.

The Bill passed the Lords, but was thrown out in the Commons, and in the following year a similar Bill was read once in the Lords and then abandoned. It was clear the time was not ripe for legislation on the subject, and for some years no better opportunity arrived, although, as occasion offered, Lord Shaftesbury did not fail to utter a few forcible words upon it.

In 1861, when the Children's Employment Commission was appointed, the climbing boys were included in the Inquiry. In due course evidence was taken, blue books were published, and, in July, 1863, Lord Shaftesbury brought the whole matter before the House of Lords, to be renewed again and again, and finally to result in the "Chimney Sweepers' Regulation Act, 1864," by which it was made unlawful for a chimney sweeper to take into a house with him any assistant under sixteen years of age, and, in cases where boys were sent up chimneys, it empowered magistrates to impose imprisonment with hard labour instead of a fine. In any question that might arise as to the age of a child, the burden of proof was to lie on the employer.

It seemed that, at last, the system of cruelty and oppression was broken up, and that the 1st of November, 1864, might be styled "The Chimney-Sweepers' Emancipation Day."*

* *Ragged School Union Magazine*, 1864, p. 245.

But the rejoicings were premature. In 1866 the Children's Employment Commission, in presenting their Fifth Report, gave evidence "of the failure of the Amended Act to answer its intended purpose."

It was not until ten years later that the abominable system of cruelty was utterly abolished.

In order to make the story of the climbing boys complete, we shall anticipate events and finish the record here. Not until 1872 do we find a further entry in the Diary on the subject; it is as follows:—

Oct. 9th, 1872.—Yesterday stirred, after a long interval, by my poor climbing boys. One suffocated in a flue in Staffordshire. The Act which forbids the practice, intentionally made the evidence difficult. Years of oppression and cruelty have rolled on, and now a death has given me the power of one more appeal to the public through the *Times*.

The case was that of a boy, named Christopher Drummond, who was sent up the flue of a fernery, and after the lapse of fifteen minutes was taken out dead. As nothing came of the letter to the *Times*, on the 19th of March Lord Shaftesbury drew attention to the matter in the House of Lords, but without success. A few months later, the following entry occurs:—

March 20th, 1873.—Then to House of Lords to move for report of coroner's inquest on a poor little chimney-sweeper, seven-and-a-half years old, killed in a flue at Washington, in county of Durham. So much for my labour on behalf of the climbing-boys! But, by God's mercy, good may come out of evil.

One death was insufficient to arouse public interest in the matter, and in February, 1875, Lord Shaftesbury

called the attention of the Government to another case—it was not known how many children might not have been sacrificed in the meantime—that of George Brewster, a boy of fourteen, who had been suffocated in a flue at Cambridge.

The press at last took up the question vigorously, and then came the opportunity for which Lord Shaftesbury had been waiting for years. For the manslaughter of the boy at Cambridge the master sweep was sentenced to six months' hard labour. Commenting upon this, in a stirring article, the *Times* said:—

"The law mitigates the guilt of this monstrous crime by including it in the category of manslaughter; but we are bold to say that, at this stage in the history of civilisation, it is only to be adequately characterised by that name of far graver significance in relation to the culpable sacrifice of human life, beyond which human censure cannot go. . . . Whoever deliberately authorised and permitted the employment of this unfortunate boy, are morally guilty of the crime of murder. . . . The time has come for a final review of a system under which such an offence is visited with no heavier punishment than six months' imprisonment."*

This article gave rise to a lengthy correspondence in the papers, in which Lord Shaftesbury brought forward a number of cases to show how the illegality of the cruel practice was winked at generally.

On the 20th of April, 1875, he gave notice of a

* *Times*, March 25th, 1875.

new Bill on the subject, and the announcement met with warm approval and the promise of cordial support. He refers to the subject in his Diary thus :—

April 28th, 1875.—Again on the rescue of the climbing boys. One's soul is torn by their misery and degradation. Have prepared a Bill; the second reading stands for May 11th. God in His mercy, grace, and love, be with me. Shall I have, after the manner of men, to contend with beasts? One hundred and two years have elapsed since the good Jonas Hanway brought the brutal iniquity before the public, yet in many parts of England and Ireland it still prevails, with the full knowledge and consent of thousands of all classes.

May 12th.—Last night Chimney Sweepers' Bill in House of Lords. It was, under God, a success in its issue, though I did not think it, or feel it, at the time. Was much disheartened at outset. House very inattentive—had twice to implore their 'condescension to hear me.' At last they listened, and so far as their undemonstrative natures would allow, applauded me. . . . . Yet by His grace I have stirred the country. The *Times*, may the paper be blessed, has assisted me gloriously.

June 4th.—By God's blessing, Chimney Sweepers' Bill passed through Committee of House of Lords in the twinkling of an eye—not a syllable uttered.

June 12th.—Cross, Secretary of State for Home Department, has consented to take up the Chimney Sweepers' Bill in House of Commons.

The Bill passed into law that session, and thus, after a century of inquiry and legislation, there was rolled away one of the greatest reproaches to the civilisation of this country. Lord Shaftesbury had broken the fetters of the most oppressed, degraded, and tortured children on the face of the earth, and had set them for ever free.

No one can have failed to perceive that Lord Shaftesbury was, from his youth upwards, in the habit of using very strong and forcible language. Sometimes this habit carried him too far, and when this was the case no one regretted it more than himself; sometimes (when cruelty, injustice and oppression were his theme) he regretted that language was inadequate to convey the expression of his indignation and disgust; sometimes he used "a Nasmyth hammer to crack a nut;" and sometimes, in the heat and fervour of debate, or under the excitement of great popular applause, he was led away, as every orator more or less is led, into expressions which, had there been time to consider the choice of words, he would have modified or have left unsaid. He was a very rapid speaker (he had the reputation of being the most rapid speaker in the House of Lords), and the reporters were apt to complain that they found some difficulty in following him. Moreover, as we have said, he never, as a rule, prepared any part of an ordinary speech except the peroration, and it was inevitable that, occasionally, he should be betrayed into the use of expressions stronger than the occasion justified. The only wonder is that these betrayals were not of far more frequent occurrence.

He could say severe and pungent things in a pleasant way. For example, on one occasion a certain Nonconformist took upon himself to make an attack in the name of Nonconformists generally—although he was in no way their representative—on the faith and practice of the Evangelical clergy, charging them with being

guilty of perjury and subornation. Lord Shaftesbury took up the matter on the ground that the clergy should not be left in the forepart of the battle to be shot at, as the cause was that of the laity as much as of the clergy, and said:—

I, too, have signed the Articles. I, too, am a subscriber to what is contained in the Prayer Book, just as much as the clergy are subscribers to it. I do, as a layman, everything that the clergy do, with the exception of the administration of the Sacraments, and I take my full share of responsibility along with them. My notion is that the best way of dealing with these attacks would be not to reply to them—not to take any notice of them. I think that if what we have heard of, had been addressed to me, in my capacity of a layman, I should have taken no notice of it whatever; or, if I had taken any notice of it, I should have merely said to the accuser, 'Sir, I believe you are very ignorant; to say the truth, you are a very saucy fellow, and if you think that you represent the great and good Nonconformists of former days—the Howes, the Bunyans, the Flavels, and Wattses—or even that you have anything akin to the good, sound, and true religious Nonconformists of the present day; you are just as much mistaken as you would be, if you thought you were well versed in history, or had even been initiated in the first elements of good breeding or Christian charity.' *

On another occasion, when justifying the use of some strong language in which he had been indulging, he said:—

I have not that faculty for mild speech which distinguishes some persons in this country. A story was told me by the late Earl Grey relating to himself and Mr. Burke. Lord Grey told me that on one occasion when in the House of Commons, as Mr. Grey, he had been speaking with considerable force of language and greater vehemence of tone than some persons might have thought seemly. On resuming

* Church Pastoral Aid Society, May 8th, 1862.

his seat, he said to Mr. Burke, 'I hope I have not shown much temper.' 'Temper!' replied Mr. Burke, 'temper, sir, is the state of mind suited to the occasion!'

Towards Neology—a term to which Lord Shaftesbury gave the most extended meaning—he felt that strong language indicated "the state of mind suited to the occasion;" and we find that, against its encroachments, which at this period were rapid, various, and almost universal, his stoutest utterances were directed. Hard as had been the battle he had fought with Romanism in days gone by; determined as his opposition was to be to Ritualism in days to come, it was against Rationalism that the whole strength of his armoury was directed. Whatever touched, or seemed to touch, irreverently, the Divinity of Christ, and His sacrificial atonement, or the inspiration and authority of the Sacred Scriptures, touched the apple of his eye, and he writhed under it. Those doctrines were not to him matters of mere theology; they entered into every fibre of his being; and to those who would rob him—or, rather, rob the Church—of the rest and comfort and strength of them, he might have said, with the beggared Jew:—

> Nay, take my life and all, pardon not that:
> You take my house, when you do take the prop
> That does sustain my house; you take my life
> When you do take the means whereby I live.

We do not propose to enter minutely into the various theological discussions in which Lord Shaftesbury was engaged at this period of his life, except in

those instances in which legislation was involved, but the narrative would be essentially incomplete were they passed over altogether. For many years—and especially from 1860, the date of the publication of "Essays and Reviews," to 1866, when Bishop Colenso's work on the Pentateuch and Professor Seeley's "Ecce Homo" were given to the world—there was scarcely a day when, either by lip or pen, Lord Shaftesbury was not protesting against attacks on the orthodox faith.

We shall cull, therefore, from the Diaries, from letters, and from speeches, some of his views on the theology of those years and the men who promulgated it.

Thus, of "Essays and Reviews," he says:—

A company of seven gentlemen, conscientious, no doubt, in their own views, but holding a belief and a faith antagonistic in the extreme from that which we hold, have put out a volume with much pomp and circumstance. Now, I hold that all the authors of that book are responsible for the whole and every part. United in a single publication, sharing alike the consequences, the profit, the loss, the honour, or the disgrace, as it may be, of that publication, they are bound together in a common effort to introduce a new Gospel, which is to be propounded and circulated for the general acceptance of the British public.

After maintaining, perhaps not very logically, that if that book were true, the Bible must be false, and the Bible Society had, therefore, no business to exist, as it was circulating a great imposition, he asked why the book had received the attention it had commanded.

'For no other reason than this,' he said, 'that for the first time in our history a plan of a new Gospel and a new system of

interpretation of Scripture, has been boldly put forward by men whose names are notorious, by men who hold high offices in the Church, by beneficed clergymen, by dignitaries. The value is not in the writings, but in the offices of the men; the effect is not in the force of the work, but in the names of the persons who have sent it forth.' *

Of Bishop Colenso's book on the Pentateuch, and the ultimate effect of the controversies created by its publication, he said:—

I maintain that this puerile and ignorant attack on the sacred and unassailable Word of God has been of inestimable benefit to the Word of God in this country. It has called forth a flood of learning and piety, vigour and truthfulness of explanation, and power of criticism, such as I did not know existed at the present time in this realm of England. It has, if possible, made that blessed old Book, which we circulate, to stand upon a stronger basis than ever; and I am sure that the admirers of that book cannot, at all events, pronounce upon the defenders of the Bible the curse of Meroz, that 'they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty.' My friends, the greater the number of attacks on the Bible, the more determined and the more zealous you should be by redoubling the number of your issues; the more frequent the assaults, the more you should strive to increase the circulation, and for that purpose to reduce the price of the sacred volume. The more your issues are multiplied, the more the Book will be read; the more the Book is read, the more it will be believed, the more it will be loved; the more it is loved, the more it will be defended; the more it is defended, the more it will fulfil the great and blessed purpose for which God, in his Almighty goodness, gave it to a fallen world.†

Of M. Rénan's "*Vie de Jesus*" he said:—

You see how that book, which was written for the most iniquitous purposes, the Life of our Lord, by Ernest Rénan, has already set the Jewish mind upon inquiry, and prompted the Jews to have recourse

* Bible Society, May 1st, 1861. † Bible Society, 1863.

to the Scriptures themselves, in order to see what kind of a person He is who has been so caricatured by Rénan; and I believe the result will be that many will go away believers in the name of Him whom they had been taught to blaspheme, and will come to the conclusion that they themselves are greater miracles than any miracle that they venture to believe.*

To "Ecce Homo," and his never-to-be-forgotten phrase concerning it, the following entries refer:—

May 12th, 1866.—Speaking at meeting of Church Pastoral Aid Society, I denounced 'Ecce Homo' as a 'most pestilential book.' This expression I well recollect. The report adds 'ever vomited from the jaws of hell.' No doubt, then, I used the words. They have excited a good deal of wrath. Be it so. They were, perhaps, too strong for the *world*, but not too strong for the *truth*. It escaped, in the heat of declamation, justifiable and yet injudicious.

The book is as much admired and bepraised in England as Ernest Rénan's in France, except that the French have not, as far as I know, found a bishop to endorse M. Rénan; while we have found one, so I hear, to become surety for 'Ecce Homo'!

May 26th.—No end of denunciations, in every form, of my opinion of 'Ecce Homo'! . . . The book can no longer be read by any one in ignorance that its character is, at least, questioned by some.

A well-known Nonconformist minister put this question to Lord Shaftesbury: "From which do you think there is the greater danger, the progress of Ritualism, or the progress of Neology?" He replied: "To the Church of England as an Established Church I apprehend there is the greater danger from Ritualism, but as regards the Church of Christ and the cause of religion in the Church of England, I apprehend there is the greater danger from Neology."

* Jews' Society, May, 1864.

In speaking of the policy pursued by Neologians, and the way in which they set aside "sound doctrinal, dogmatic, practical teaching," he said:—

They are praising a sensuous religion. They hope to get rid of doctrines by sentiments. They hope to get rid of creeds by feelings. Take up the writings of the most fascinating among them, and you will find them conceding almost all that you desire. You will find that they will concede to you the incarnation and the divinity of our Lord, and almost every thing that you could wish in the history of our Lord and of our religion. But when you come to the great fundamental turning point of our religion, without which there is nothing in it worth having—the Atonement made on the Cross by the Blood of our Blessed Lord—then they stop short and reject it altogether. *

Throughout these years wherever he went, in season and out of season, Lord Shaftesbury was as "a voice crying in the wilderness," and the burden of his exhortations may be summed up in the words he addressed to the members of the Young Men's Christian Association:—

In this day of unspeakable importance, will this Association continue firm to the Truth? Will it earnestly contend for the faith once delivered to the saints? Will it resist all the various assaults, the dexterous attacks, the insidious approaches of that empty, specious sentimentality which, hating the real truth and endeavouring to subvert and set aside all specific and dogmatic teaching, approaches you and deceives you by professions that they who indulge it are so overwhelmed by the love of God that they can see nothing else, they can touch you upon no other doctrine, they can handle no other subject, all is submerged in that alone; and so His other attributes are altogether set aside, altogether ignored, as not worth a moment's consideration, and least of all, of the consideration

* Church Pastoral Aid Society, May 4, 1866.

of strong-minded and intellectual men. . . If this is the way in which strong-minded men are to be approached, it is not the way in which strong-hearted men are to be approached. 'With the heart man believeth,' and not with the intellect. The intellect is very well in its way, but the heart is God's especial province; it is with the heart that men believe; it is with the heart that men will defy all these attacks; it is with the heart that man will rest secure in his convictions; it is with the heart that men will aspire to immortality; it is with the heart that by God's grace they will reach that to which they aspire. *

One episode of these controversies was, that the friendship between Lord Shaftesbury and his cousin, Dr. Pusey, which had long lain cold, was warmed into new life. When the judgment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was given in the "Essays and Reviews" case, and the charges made against the writers broke down, Dr. Pusey wrote a letter to the *Record*, calling upon all Christians to forego minor differences in mutual resistance of the great doctrinal errors of the day.

That letter gave rise to the following correspondence:—

Lord Shaftesbury to Dr. Pusey.

GROSVENOR SQUARE, *Feb. 26th*, 1864.

MY DEAR PUSEY,—You and I are fellow-collegians and old friends.

Time, space, and divergent opinions have separated us for many years: but circumstances have arisen which must, if we desire combined action in the cause of our common Master, set at nought time, space, and divergent opinions.

We will fight about those *another day;* in this we 'must contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints;' and it must be

* "Exeter Hall Lectures," 1862-3, p. 396.

done together now. Your letter to the *Record* shows (at least I think so) that you are of the same mind as myself.

We have to struggle, not for Apostolical Succession or Baptismal Regeneration, but for the very Atonement itself, for the sole hope of fallen man, the vicarious sacrifice of the Cross. For God's sake let all who love our blessed Lord, and His perfect word, be of one heart, one mind, one action on this great issue, and show that, despite our wanderings, our doubts, our contentions, we yet may be one in Him.

What say you? Yours truly,

SHAFTESBURY.

To this letter, Dr. Pusey replied :—

Dr. Pusey to Lord Shaftesbury.

CHRISTCHURCH, *Feb. 28th*, 1864.

MY DEAR SHAFTESBURY,—I thank you for your letter, and for the renewal of old friendship. I always sought to live in friendly relations with those who love our dear Lord and adore His redeeming mercy. Those few lines in the *Record* express what has, for these thirty years, been the deep longing of my soul, that we should understand one another, and strive together against the common enemy of souls. This soul-destroying judgment may, with, I fear, its countless harms, be overruled in God's mercy to good, if it binds as one man all who love our blessed Lord, in contending for the faith assailed.

I have ever loved the (to use the term) Evangelical party (even while they blamed me), because I believed that they loved our Redeeming Lord with their whole hearts. So now I am one heart and one mind with those who will contend for our common faith against this tide of unbelief.

Yours affectionately,

E. B. PUSEY.

P.S.—I only read to-day your letter dated Feb. 26th. I had thought to write to you the letter which I afterwards sent to the *Record*, but I thought it best, in the end, not to ask you to own me again till you should be so minded.

It seemed as if the relations between the High and Low Church parties were to be materially altered, for, among those who pleaded for conciliation, was Bishop Wilberforce, who wrote thus to Lord Shaftesbury :—

The Bishop of Oxford to Lord Shaftesbury.

BANBURY, *Feb. 29th*, 1864.

MY DEAR LORD SHAFTESBURY,—It is my earnest desire that the terrible evil of this 'judgment' should become the means of healing the wound which the separation of High and Low Church inflicts upon us, by bringing together all who believe simply in the Bible and in the plain language of our Creeds.

I have no doubt that this is your wish, too, and I shall be heartily glad to co-operate with you, so far as you will allow, in resisting the flood of Rationalistic infidelity which is rising daily higher and higher. I am to be in London on Wednesday, if you should wish to communicate with me.

I am, my dear Lord Shaftesbury, most sincerely yours,

S. OXON.

There is, unfortunately, no record of the reply that was sent to the above letter, nor is there any reference to it in the Diary.

Decided and dogmatic as were Lord Shaftesbury's utterances on the controversies of the times, he was not blinded by his zeal into lending support to actions which were conceived in the spirit of persecution, or that, to effect a present apparent good, would result in permanent harm. Thus, while (we use his own strong expression) he "loathed with the utmost abhorrence" Bishop Colenso's book, he protested against Bishop Gray's

illegal mode of dealing with the offending brother.' In the same spirit he replied to Archdeacon Denison on the question of the Endowment of the Greek Chair at Oxford in the person of Dr. Jowett, as shown in the following correspondence :—

The Ven. Archdeacon Denison to Lord Shaftesbury.

COMMITTEE ROOM, 3, ST. ALDATES,

OXFORD, *Feb. 29th*, 1864.

MY LORD,—The peril of the time is so great that I do not hesitate to write a letter which may, perhaps, appear to you a strange one. But I think that, however great the difference between us on some points may be, you will give me credit for having nothing nearer to my heart than to maintain the Scriptural Faith of the Church of England.

On Tuesday, March 8th, it will be proposed to endow the Greek Professorship in the person of Mr. Jowett; that is to say, to establish the rule that there is no necessary connection between Academic endowment and truth of teaching.

The 'free handlers' of Holy Scripture regard the statute as ruling this point so completely that they are willing to accept it in the form proposed, and Dr. Stanley publicly thanked Dr. Pusey in the Congregation for having been instrumental in establishing the rule of neutrality in religion on the part of the University. Pusey, I believe I may say, now regrets his move.

We are labouring to secure votes. Your Lordship will forgive me for asking for your presence and vote.

Faithfully yours,

G. DENISON.

To this letter Lord Shaftesbury replied :—

Lord Shaftesbury to Archdeacon Denison.

March 4th, 1864.

DEAR MR. ARCHDEACON,—Be assured that I am delighted to receive a letter from you on these matters. In this case, I venture

to differ from you. I feel confident that the right course in the first instance; and in the second, the wise and politic course, is to endow the Professorship notwithstanding the Professor.

Heaven knows how I loathe the theology of Dr. Jowett, but we should not put him down by dishonouring his chair.

A hearty combination of all those who hold the fundamental Truth, will have ten times more effect if it be separated altogether from movements of this character. I speak particularly as to the effect upon the laity.

Very faithfully yours,

SHAFTESBURY.

In the summer of 1864, Lord Shaftesbury found refuge for a while from controversies with Neologians, and from the Education Commissioners,—who had stated their opinion that, except in large cities, Ragged Schools were not needed, as they tended to discourage the establishment of schools of a more regular and systematic character,—and it is refreshing to hear him discoursing to his friend Mr. Haldane, on the glories of the Grisons:—

Lord Shaftesbury to Mr. Haldane.

ST. MORITZ, CANTON DES GRISONS,

August 25th, 1864.

DEAR HALDANE,—Here is indeed a wonderful place! I am astonished that such a spot, so beautiful, so bright, and so healthy should have remained, until the last few years, unknown even to the Swiss. The savants of Geneva, Berne, Lausanne, either did not know, or pretended not to know, of a district worth the whole Federation put together. It is more than 6,000 feet above the level of the sea, so high that no cereal crop can ever be raised; and no plain of Italy can boast so clear, so brilliant, and so blue a sky. I can count ten glaciers from the grass-plat, and sit writing with the window open, enjoying a temperature like the very finest October day in the

county of Dorset. The air is as enlivening as champagne and as strengthening as beef. Forests, mountains, lakes, make up the scenery; and we have as much as the imagination can wish. Add to this, excellent accommodation (in the Kurhaus), capital food, and most obliging people, and you will have the *ne plus ultra* of a watering-place.

Nature, however, imposes on every one certain custom dues as the price of admission. You must be acclimated by certain small preliminary inflictions; a general feeling of discomfort, what schoolboys call 'being all no-how;' or a violent cold, cough, and sore throat, or some bad nights, or three or four stout indigestions. I have had them all, but I am now promised that, in a very short time, I shall become 'young and lusty as an eagle.' . . .

Yours,

S.

Resuming his Diary, in the winter of the year, we find him again in the midst of old anxieties of all sorts:—

Dec. 12th.—St. Giles's. Fresh annoyances in law suits instituted by my late steward, and my tenant, Mr. Lewer. Both, for different objects, have put me in Chancery; and a pretty waste there will be of time, and spirits, and money. A successful suitor in the Court of Chancery is nearly a ruined man, always a loser—even by a victory.

Dec. 22nd.—What is there, in Church and State, actual or rising, of wisdom, or courage, or judgment, or constitutional knowledge, or high-mindedness, or firmness, or *patriotism?* Palmerston must soon be removed; and his successor, Gladstone, will bring with him the Manchester school for colleagues and supporters, a hot Tractarian for Chancellor, and the Bishop of Oxford for an ecclesiastical adviser. *He will succumb to every pressure, except the pressure of a Constitutional and Conservative Policy.*

Reform may be postponed; but it is inevitable. The next Session will be one of turbulence and mischief, every scheme being propounded, and many a one being carried, to please constituents on the eve of a general election; Gladstone, probably, taking the lead, nay, even breaking up the Ministry to secure his own elevation.

Thus we have before us democracy, popery, infidelity, with no spirit of resistance in the country, no strong feelings, no decided principles, a great love of ease, and a great fear of anything that may disturb that ease; and a willingness, nay, a forwardness, to put every apprehension aside, and say, 'What does it signify?'

One of the pleasantest occurrences to Lord Shaftesbury in this year, was the visit to England of General Garibaldi, for whom he had a profound admiration and regard. Garibaldi arrived in England on the 3rd of April. Lord Shaftesbury went to Southampton to meet him, accompanied him to the Isle of Wight, where he remained—the guest of Mr. Seely, M.P.—for some days, and became his constant companion the whole of the time he was in London, never leaving him, in fact, except when Garibaldi "would go to the Opera."

The reception given to Garibaldi by the English people was almost unprecedented in its enthusiasm, and lest it should be misinterpreted in France, Lord Shaftesbury wrote the following letter:—

Lord Shaftesbury to the Duke de Persigny.

April 8th, 1864.

MY DEAR DUKE DE PERSIGNY,—When you were in England you oftentimes allowed me the privilege of stating my opinions to you.

Let me do so once more, and state what is the feeling and thought of the English people in the reception of General Garibaldi.

Believe me that there is not in it a notion of politics; but they wish to do honour to a brave, honest, good man, who has served his country and mankind at large.

I can, as well as most men, speak what they feel, for I am a very stout admirer of Garibaldi, and an equally stout supporter of the alliance with France. I am satisfied that there are very few in this

country who do not think that the alliance with France is for the honour, happiness, peace, and progress of both nations.

Had Garibaldi's appearance here anything to do with touching that alliance, I am sure that the People of England would refuse to give him a welcome.

I heartily wish that you would make this clear to his Majesty the Emperor.

Yours very truly,

SHAFTESBURY.

The Duke de Persigny to Lord Shaftesbury.

PARIS, *le* 12 *Août*, 1864.

MON CHER LORD SHAFTESBURY,—J'ai pensé que la meilleure manière de faire ce que vous me recommandez était de remettre votre lettre à l'Empereur. Je suis convaincu comme vous que dans ces manifestations éclatantes de sympathie le public Anglais n'a en vue que le patriote Italien et le héros de la Sicile et non pas le demagogue et l'ennemi de la France. Je vais plus loin, je suis sûr que le public en Angleterre ne connait même pas l'attitude qu'a prise Garibaldi envers l'Empereur et envers la France, et s'il la savait il ne la comprendrait pas.

Comment, en effet, expliquer une haine pareille de la part d'un homme qui doit tout à la France, et l'indépendance de son pays et sa propre illustration? Que serait devenu l'Italie et Garibaldi lui-même si la main puissante de la France n'avait pas rendu à ce pays une indépendance perdue depuis des siècles. Que deviendrait même l'Italie aujourd'hui si cette même main se retirait d'elle? Que Garibaldi gémisse de la situation de Rome nous autre nous en gemissons.

C'est que sur cette grave question la France elle même est divisée et que ce n'est pas en un jour que de telles difficultés peuvent être écartées.

Mais l'ingratitude de Garibaldi est monstreuse et rien ne peut excuser une attitude et une conduite indigne d'un *gentleman*. Voilà ce que nous sentons et ce que nous comprenons en France. Quant à vous, libre à vous de recevoir un temoignage de la gratitude de Garibaldi pour ce que la France a fait et non pas l'Angleterre. Mais

nous ne voyons rien d'hostile dans tout cela, et nous comprenons vos sentiments.

Mille compliments à Lady Shaftesbury, et rappelez-moi au bon souvenir de Lord et Lady Palmerston pour qui je concevrai toute ma vie le plus profond attachement.

Votre bien devoué,

PERSIGNY.

One of the subjects that particularly interested Garibaldi during his visit was Lord Shaftesbury's work in relation to the housing of the poor; and he took away many notes, and obtained much information, with a view to the construction of better dwelling-houses for the working-classes in Italy. In parting, Lord Shaftesbury presented him with a copy of the New Testament in Italian. It was a book with a story, for it was the only copy of the Scriptures that was finished printing while Garibaldi was in Rome. In giving it, Lord Shaftesbury begged him, as a personal favour, that he would read it, and this Garibaldi promised he would do. On his departure he pressed into Lord Shaftesbury's hand a little note which was intended as a farewell, in case he would not have the opportunity of speech. It ran thus :—

General Garibaldi to Lord Shaftesbury.

CLIFDEN, 24 *Avril*, 1864.

MY LORD,—Je désire beaucoup en partant vous faire savoir que je suis bien reconnaissant aux bontés dont vous m'avez comblé, et que je serai fier dans toute circonstance, d'être honoré de vos ordres, et de votre amitié.

Votre dévoué, G. GARIBALDI.

LORD SHAFTESBURY.

"Of that name," said Lord Shaftesbury, referring to Garibaldi at a banquet given to him at the Fishmongers' Hall, "no man can speak without emotion. He is a man that represents, in himself, the best qualities that adorn mankind."

His portrait hung, to the last, in a conspicuous place in Lord Shaftesbury's library in Grosvenor Square.

In a separate manuscript book, Lord Shaftesbury commenced, in November of this year, a lengthy review of the various questions of the day as they arose. It was an intellectual pastime with him, and it had its practical use in being ready to hand for reference. We extract the following on English liberality :—

The newspapers are ever loud in their eulogies on English liberality; that it is ready, adequate, inexhaustible. They parade the subscriptions in answer to sundry appeals, and ask whether any case ever is rejected without joyous and abundant relief. It has never been so, and it is in the present day less so than formerly, and, every year, the difficulty of raising money for charitable and religious purposes will increase in proportion to the increase of the national wealth.

My own experience as a great mendicant for such objects, is decidedly as stated; but I do not quote it as authoritative, for people may be, as doubtless they are, weary of me and my applications. But the facts admit of no evasion. They show a vast change in the heart and spirit of the nation.

The Indian Mutiny was an event of a nature to stir the very depths of sympathy and feeling. The sum collected for the sufferers was small in itself and inadequate to the necessity.

The Famine in India was a special and undeniable appeal to luxury and wealth, with less of patriotic claim than the other, but

with more of human and Christian obligation. The response was feeble.

The Crimean War might have roused (and would have roused in earlier days) a tempest, as it were, of generosity. The effort, though greater than the two former, was unequal to the occasion. The country could easily have spared ten times as much; but its private enjoyments had a stronger claim.

The Cotton Famine broke on the public like an earthquake or a thunder-bolt. The character, circumstances, and probable issues of this calamity, were enough to terrify the dull and the imaginative alike, the hard and the sympathetic. About a million and a-half were raised, by great exertions and unceasing appeals. In reference to the overwhelming need, and the riches of England, it was a poor sum.

A thrill of horror and commiseration ran through the empire on behalf of the Poles. There was no end of meetings, none of speechifyings, no change of conversation. All ran on this line. Yet a few paltry sums, perhaps, in the aggregate, not amounting to the cost of half-a-dozen equipages, were collected for the sick and wounded, and this, too, while the Austrian Government was favourable, and allowed the money to be received and expended in hospitals at Cracow.

On the Danish question, on the cruel invasion and plunder of that kingdom, there was far more unanimity of feeling than in respect of Poland. Yet, after discussions in Parliament, sensation-meetings, and private meetings, a sum under twenty thousand pounds was the measure of our succour to the sick and wounded of that gallant army. Not a syllable was urged, nay, not a syllable could be urged, against the movement. All approved, and a miserable fraction contributed to the effort.

Now, compare this bounty with the bounty of the country in 1813 in aid of the Russians, whose land had been devastated by Napoleon. Above one hundred thousand pounds were collected and remitted to St. Petersburg. But we must observe that, in 1864 as compared with 1813, the national private income had increased, perhaps, twenty-fold; that the number of individual proprietors of wealth had increased probably in the same proportion.

In 1813 we were plunged in a long and ruinous war, with war-taxes, and no hope of relaxation. We were found, nevertheless, full of fire and generosity to any cry of distress.

Next came Garibaldi. His reception, on arrival in London, was such as no man ever yet enjoyed, and such as, perhaps, no one will ever enjoy again. The millions that shouted, had they given sixpence apiece, might have realised a subsidy, which would have suited his Italian purposes, and which he would have accepted. But the contributions were trifling, and raised with difficulty.

The project of a gift from the gentry of England, was happily checked by himself, in sufficient time to save his credit and *ours*. After many sittings of Committees, myriads of letters, and private requests, we had, in two months, obtained payments and promises for a sum considerably under three thousand pounds; and, by his providential interference, we were spared the disgrace of announcing to the world, that such was the maximum of the sympathy, or the munificence, of the British gentry.

All these cases must be considered in reference to the wealth and capabilities of the nation. Our means are multiplied twenty-fold; our religious and charitable expenditure barely two-fold; the love of money, and its cohesive power, increase with its bulk. A forty-fold advance will reduce the country to a one-fold expenditure.

But then, say the eulogists of national philanthropy, 'the applications are so much increased.' That is true, but so are the holders of property, both in numbers and in amount of possession.

The truth is, that the givers are few, and those few are overtasked. The ordinary and regular givers were always few; they are becoming fewer every day, as the ancient ones die off. The casual givers, those who give only in some 'very peculiar and startling' event, such as the Cotton Famine, might be counted in a breath. Those who have given once, and who will never give again, may be written at full length ('names, weights, and colours of the riders,' as one used to hear at a race-ground), on a small side of note-paper. Those who never give at all, might properly call themselves, like the devils in the New Testament, 'Legion,' for they are many.

In January, 1865, the death of his old "Christian pastor and friend," the Rev. Robert Moore, Rector of St. Giles's, Dorset, who had held the benefice for forty-two

years, was a shock to Lord Shaftesbury. Soon after he wrote :—

Feb. 14th.—London. Many excellent men covet St. Giles's as a refuge and repose; but, worthy as they are, I cannot, for their sakes, convert it into an easy-chair. These town clergy seem to think that a rural population requires nothing but the ministerial presence. They are ignorant that, if there be less mental, there is oftentimes more physical work, to visit carefully and rule diligently a wide-extended parish.

Mr. Haldane was consulted as to the vacancy.

My sole desire is to give the living to a true, tried, and meritorious (humanly speaking) servant of our blessed Lord.

I should desire the joint opinions of yourself, the good Dean,* and Lord Midleton. A man endorsed by you three, would be an 'epistle known and read of all men.' . . . Let Emilius Bayley be included in your deliberations.

The result was the appointment of Mr. Robert Harkness, who still held the benefice at the time of Lord Shaftesbury's death.

The Diary for 1865 is much fuller than for many previous years, and a few passages on miscellaneous subjects may be quoted. The following relate to the illness of Lord Palmerston—a sharp attack of gout—which was a cause of great anxiety to Lord Shaftesbury :—

April 20th.—Though somewhat abated, my uneasiness respecting Palmerston is very great. O God, 'spare him a little before he go hence and be no more seen.'

May 1st.—P. is better, God be blessed. Nevertheless, I am very anxious. He may, and probably will, endure a little longer. I

* The Dean of Gloucester, Dr. Law.

cannot, however, dare to hope (and to pray would be to pray for a *miracle*) that he will encounter another Session.

In reviewing the political situation the following passage occurs:—

July 10th.—This is considered a calm. But it is in reality no such thing. It is simply the peg driven through the Island of Delos; unloose the peg, and all will be adrift.

Palmerston is that peg. Let him be drawn out by defeat, by sickness, or by retirement, and all will be in confusion. Gladstone and the Manchester party will ensure that issue.

July 11th.—In fearful anxiety about Palmerston. He is, the Lord be praised, better, but he has not recovered, nor will he ever recover, at eighty years of age, his former strength. I have long thought that he will not meet another Parliament; or, if he does, it will only be to take his leave. He is gone to Tiverton; his friends declared that such a step, however hazardous, was necessary to sustain the public confidence. How ardently do I pray, day and night, that he may return in safety. He is the only true Englishman left in public life.

One of Lord Shaftesbury's favourite schemes was the Evangelisation of the East; and one of the agencies intended to promote it was the Malta Protestant College. The subject was first propounded to him in 1823, when resident in Rome, by Lord Hastings, who had just returned from his Governor-Generalship of India, and who, after a rest, was to assume the Government of the Island of Malta. He proposed to found an institution where the natives of the East should be taught gratuitously. Years passed away, and no grand effort had been made to give effect to the conception of Lord Hastings, although the subject had never escaped the attention of Lord Shaftesbury. Eventually, Dr. Adair Crawford,

who had also long pondered the matter, consulted Lord Shaftesbury on the subject, and the result was a meeting at the Thatched House Tavern, and, in 1846, the establishment of the Malta Protestant College. Its object was the religious and social improvement of the populations living under Turkish rule; and, towards the accomplishment of this end, a certain number of native Oriental pupils were received free of expense, and educated as schoolmasters, interpreters, missionaries, physicians, and merchants, while Europeans and wealthy natives were admitted on payment and educated. The want of Englishmen properly qualified to fill the various diplomatic and consular offices in Turkey was detrimental to the political and commercial interests of England, and this want, it was hoped, the Malta College would supply. Malta was chosen as the scene of these operations, because it presented great facilities of acquiring the Oriental and other languages, and of associating with natives from nearly every region of the East; because the pupils would there become gradually acclimatised to bear the heat of more Southern regions, and because the cost of living was cheaper, rendering it possible to board and educate a pupil for from £45 to £60 per annum.

After years of up-hill work, it was found that the plan could not be made successful, and the following entry records the end of its existence:—

Aug. 3rd.—The Malta College must, on the whole, be regarded as a complete failure. It has been a work of much labour, much thought, much anxiety and high anticipation, many appeals to the

public, and many prayers to God. But it has broken down; and we must close it in debt; and I, I fear, shall bear the principal burthen. The difficulties of governing such an institution, some days' journey off, severed by the sea and foreign lands, was too great for a small irregular Committee, giving attendance but once a month, and that very hurried in its operations. . . . But all is not lost. We have sent out from time to time a few Easterns of a good type; and we have stirred men's minds in England and America to thoughts of Syria.

In a note to Mr. Haldane, Lord Shaftesbury says :—

Poor dear Malta College! It must go down before the wealth and generosity of America, and the greater wealth and meanness of England. Its history recalls a tender love-song of Moore's :—

'Farewell! our love was born in fears,
And nursed 'mid vain regrets;
Like winter-suns it rose in tears,
Like them in tears it sets.'

For several years there are frequent records of visits to Richmond—similar to the following, written in 1861 :—

Went to Richmond to see my mother. She is far less suffering, thank God, than when I last saw her, less cough, less deafness, less depression. Her eye is not dim, she needs no glasses, nor the aid of a stick. What a marvel at eighty-seven!

The last of this long series of entries is in August, 1865 :—

Aug. 8th.—Have just received intelligence from Dr. Julius of the death of my poor mother. She died without pain, enfeebled by age, and quite in her second childhood.

Aug. 13th.—Sunday. Yesterday consigned her to the grave in the vault at St. Giles's, 'in the sure and certain hope of a joyful resurrection.' In November next she would have completed ninety-one years. Well does God say to Solomon the word of praise, because he had 'not desired long life.'

In the autumn of this year, the cattle plague was raging in England with fearful violence. Of 80,000 cattle attacked by the disease, 40,000 had died; and in September, between 6,000 and 7,000 animals were dying each week, while the sheep also were threatened. Pending the action of the Government as to a special public prayer, the Bishop of Oxford wrote a prayer—of great beauty and practical force—and circulated it in his own diocese. Lord Shaftesbury obtained a copy, and pronounced it to "be one of the most exquisitely pious prayers he ever read." The following entry will not surprise any one who knew him well:—

Oct. 10.—St. Giles's. Public prayer last Sunday. Have circulated a short form, for private use, by Bishop of Oxford. Sent it to every farmer and cottager on all my estates; also some to London, and remitted a sum of money to Mr. Baring Gould for the printing of it in Wolverhampton.

While this great calamity was hanging over the nation, a deeper and a darker cloud was shadowing the household of Lord Shaftesbury. His friend, the man he trusted and loved, through whose influence he had been able to effect so much, whose life seemed so essential to the nation, was at the point of death.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

LORD PALMERSTON AND CHURCH APPOINTMENTS.

1855—1865.

Career of Lord Palmerston—His approaching End—Letter to Mr. Haldane—Closing Scenes—Death of Lord Palmerston—His Friends and Enemies—Funeral in Westminster Abbey—Estimate of his Character—Gaps in many Lives—The Parties at Cambridge House—Bounty Money—Honours—The Centre of all Action in Politics—Review of Church Appointments—The "Shaftesbury Bishops"—Principle governing Lord Palmerston's Church Patronage—List of Ecclesiastical Preferments—The "Bishop-Maker"—His Advice to the Premier—Care in Selecting Practical Men—Politics Disregarded in the Nominations—Tribute to Mr. Haldane—Prospect of Vast and Irrevocable Changes.

THE record of Lord Palmerston's life has been fully given to the world. Every one knows the main features of his wonderful career: how, for sixty years, he was a Member of Parliament, and nearly the whole of that time, in office; how he was in the House of Commons for thirty years before the Queen came to the throne, and how, from first to last, he was a man with the capacity to live in the full enjoyment of life, and to work with a will for the good of mankind and the welfare and glory of his country. There are aspects of his life and character, however, which have not hitherto been made known; they relate to the inner circle and the hidden sphere, and few, if any, knew them better than Lord Shaftesbury.

Until Lord Palmerston had entered his eighty-first year, he showed none of the ordinary signs of old age, nor any relaxing of that hold on life which characterised his whole career. The attack of gout, referred to in the preceding chapter, was the first indication of his approaching end.

During the elections in July, 1865, he addressed the electors at Tiverton and then went to Brocket, where the attack of illness occurred. Before he was sufficiently recovered, he went for a ride, took a chill, and indiscreetly refused the remedies proposed to him.

Oct. 16th.—London. Came up with Minny to-day in consequence of a telegram from Evelyn. Heard, on arrival, that P. was better. She is gone to Brocket; I remain here. She is enough—at such times as these a multitude, even of the dearest friends, is burdensome.

Will the Lord spare him to us a little space before he 'go hence and be no more seen?' I believe that it will be so.

On the 18th, Lord Shaftesbury, who, as will be seen immediately, went at once to Brocket Hall, wrote to Mr. Haldane:—

BROCKET HALL, *Oct. 18th*, 1865.

DEAR HALDANE,—Palmerston rallied wonderfully yesterday, but now he lies on the very verge of the grave. A few hours and he will be no more.

God have mercy on him for our Lord's sake! I have hope, well-founded hope, that he dies in peace. Three days ago he expressed his firm trust in Christ, to our invaluable friend and physician, Protheroe Smith; and as we prayed over him to-day, I saw his eyes open, and heard low indistinct sounds of assent. God is unspeakably good. 'If Thou be extreme to mark what is done amiss, who can abide Thee?'

Thus goes the 'Ultimus Romanorum,' and now begins, be assured of it, the greatest social, political, and religious revolution that England has yet endured.

What an instrument he has been in the hands of the Almighty!

Yours,

S.

The Diary continues:—

Oct. 20th.—Brocket. Till now, unable to record the death of my much-loved friend. It pleased Almighty God to take his soul on Wednesday morning, 18th, at a quarter to eleven o'clock.

First, I thank God that I was present to watch and pray by his bedside. Minny had, on Tuesday morning, sent me a telegram to say, 'Much better'; and, on that word, I was preparing to return to my business in Dorsetshire; but, *providentially*, I read what she had, *providentially*, also added, 'You were expected, you may as well come for one night at all events.' I determined so to do, merely to shake hands with him and wish him joy. And right glad am I, that I was moved to take this step; for, on my arrival, I heard that he had suffered a sudden relapse and that the physicians had abandoned all hope. Yet I could not quite abandon prayer; and I clung, without sanction, to the issue, as it were, of a miracle.

Later in the night, about eleven o'clock, I went to his bedroom, and saw him lying, apparently unconscious, and breathing hard. We all sat up the whole night: Fanny and Minny with their mother, and I, W. Cowper, Georgiana, Evelyn, and the doctors, occasionally in the bedroom, or the room adjoining. He was sinking gradually, but without pain.

Some of the incidents of that anxious night are very graphically told:—

About two o'clock it might be, the doctor, Protheroe Smith, thinking that his end was very near, proposed that all should unite in prayer, and commend his soul to the living God. We heartily concurred; and I went into the next room to arouse the good Dr. Watson, then asleep on a sofa, who had expressed an earnest wish to join the family in any act of worship.

An hour or more after this, William leaned over the bed and began to recite some passages of the Liturgy, the short and pithy supplications, one or two of the Collects, and the Lord's Prayer. He was, I think, in this very judicious, as using the words and petitions with which Palmerston might be familiar. It is manifest to me that he was heard by Palmerston, who opened his eyes and seemed to give, by low but special sounds, expressions of assent.

William then asked me to pray over him, saying, 'he knows your voice, and he will be touched to find that you are so near him.' Inwardly I implored God's grace; and then I did so. His eyes were opened widely, and he repeated, after many of the petitions, the same sounds that had so comforted us all under William's prayer. I spoke of sin, of forgiveness, and of sin being washed away only by the blood of our crucified Saviour. There was no sign of repugnance, no moving of the hand in token of denial (and he had strength to do so, for he had moved his hands before, and he moved them afterwards), but the same soft and peculiar sound, that seemed more like a breathing of the heart, than an effort of the mouth. This done, he closed his eyes, and relapsed into his former drowsiness.

A good deal later, and just before the last gasp (I forget the precise hour), Protheroe Smith spoke to him, and said, 'Are you in pain?' 'Oh no,' he replied. Somewhat after that Smith (Dr. Watson standing by), asked him, 'Will you take any refreshment?' 'Oh no, no,' he answered, in distinct tones. Both the doctors remarked to me, 'We are now certain that he heard your prayers and that his consciousness remained with him.'

If that be so, then am I equally certain that he acknowledged, accepted, and embraced our petitions, joined in the confession of sins, and trusted in the merits of the All-powerful Redeemer. Such was the character of the man that he never would have passed in silence, still less have apparently admitted, anything that his spirit rejected. We may joyously believe that, after a long life of absorption in worldly affairs, God, of His free and unbounded mercy, revealed to him His Son Jesus Christ, and has enabled all those who so truly and tenderly loved him, to say with unhesitating confidence and joy, 'We now commit our brother to the grave, dust to dust, ashes to ashes, in the sure and certain hope of a glorious resurrection.'

I was not in the chamber at the very moment of dissolution; but I came in time to imprint a parting kiss on his forehead yet warm, and put my hand on his closing eyes.

It was but natural that Lord Shaftesbury should scan the political horizon with some anxiety, and he proceeds to record Lord Palmerston's estimate of men who were to succeed him:—

Oct. 25th.—Palmerston had but two real enemies, Bright and Gladstone. Gladstone's language, and specially his acts, will show that the master mind, which curbed him, is gone; and his resentment will appear in the political associations he will form, and in the violence and relish with which he will overthrow every thought and deed of his great leader.

Palmerston knew all this, but never mentioned it with asperity. Once he said to me, though he seldom dealt in predictions, 'Gladstone will soon have it all his own way; and, whenever he gets my place, we shall have strange doings.'

He feared his character, his views, and his temperament, greatly. He rarely spoke severely of any one. Bright and Gladstone were the only two of whom he used strong language. Cobden he described as a man from whom he differed in many respects, but he never, in my hearing, applied to him any forcible epithets. Lord Russell, from whom he had received the greatest wrongs—personal and political—was never alluded to but with a laugh, and in a good-humoured way, 'Oh, he's a foolish fellow, but we shall go on very well now.' And he was right, for the latter conduct of Lord Russell was antagonistic to his first, and the six years of his tenure, under P., of the Foreign Secretaryship, were years of confidence and esteem between them both.

He saw clearly, but without any strong sentiment, Gladstone's hostility. He remarked to me one day, when we were discussing some appointment: 'Well, Gladstone has never behaved to me as a colleague, in such a way as to demand from me any consideration.' And this he said with the air and tone of a man who perceived the enmity but did not care for it. Yet he always endeavoured to keep him safe in Oxford. When Lord Derby

dissolved the Parliament, P. requested me to do all that lay in my power to secure Gladstone's seat for the University. When Parliament was dissolved, in July of this year, P. again applied to me; and every effort was made. But the Conservatives and their adherents committed the gross folly of ejecting him from Oxford, and thus sending him to Lancashire. 'He is a dangerous man,' said P.; 'keep him in Oxford, and he is partially muzzled; but send him elsewhere, and he will run wild.'

Oct. 29th.—Yesterday Palmerston was committed to the grave in Westminster Abbey. He had said, in his will, evidently never contemplating a public funeral, that he 'desired to be buried at Romsey.' The universal wish that he should be publicly interred, prevailed with his family, and Lady Palmerston gave way under our assurance that a place should be reserved for her at his side in the Abbey as he had designed for her in the cemetery.

The crowds were immense, but in wonderful order; silent, deeply reverential, and apparently unwilling, even by signs, to disturb the solemnity of the procession. Such a scene has seldom been seen; and long will it be ere such another be witnessed. The people loved the man, his open simplicity, his imperturbable good-humour, his incapability of resentment, his readiness to stand up, at all times, for what he thought right; they confided in his sagacity, his experience of affairs, his preference of the public interests to nepotism or to self; they saw in him, in short, everything that they desired to see in a *Ruler* in one aspect, in a servant in another. Every man regarded him as a personal friend; and every one, in his loss, seems subjected to a sense of personal insecurity.

While I deeply mourn him as my dear, true, and private friend, and while I tremble for the destinies of England, I acknowledge with gratitude and joy the special mercy of Almighty God towards him, and towards his relations. He might have lived to a second childhood; he might have lived to exhibit mental decrepitude in the House of Commons, and give rise to wishes that he would resign, and to complaints that his friends did not persuade him to resign. He went down, on the contrary, in the height of his popularity, in the peace and prosperity of the country, in the plenitude of the public confidence, in the full enjoyment of his faculties, in the midst of social and domestic happiness, in the possession of power, and with

the daily prayers of thousands that he might long be spared for the honour, the welfare, and security of the Empire. 'His sun went down while it was yet day;' and the twilight will be, to the eye at least, as attractive and beautiful as his full blaze of splendour.

The intellect, too, left in its vigour, freshness and elasticity, was becoming far too active and vigorous for the body. He battled, hour by hour, with that sinking frame, which, though still perfect in its organisation (for so the post-mortem revealed) was qualified for long and peaceable existence, but not for rapid and anxious exertion. His suffering, latterly, must have been extreme. With a courage equal to his understanding, he continued to demand of his physical system all the service it had rendered in his early days. A conscientious eagerness to fight for his country, while he had a leg to stand on, impelled him very far, and temporarily sustained him. But eyes, and ears, and nerves, and muscles were failing fast; and one saw, with pain, the desperate efforts he made partly to conceal and partly to overcome them. Hitherto this reflection has comforted, and upheld my mother-in-law. She recognises the merciful hand of God towards both herself and him, in the many years of happiness they were permitted to enjoy together, and his easy removal before any mental and further bodily visitations.

The death of our friend Palmerston has made a gap in many lives and in many quarters. The first is in his wife's existence. It is a sudden change from excitement and activity to utter silence and repose. She revolved round the centre of all political movements, she is checked in her orbit, and is become stationary. Her hopes and fears and affections, so keenly roused and so tenderly exercised, towards him, whether in strength or weakness, in anxiety, or in joy, will be wholly extinguished, or made to burn in a lower degree, towards other objects.

It is a change, and a gap, to Minny. He tenderly loved and admired her, and said to her, as she entered his room, not many days before his death, 'Minny, come in, come in; you always seem to me like a sunbeam.' Such affections withdrawn are not a slight abstraction of vital warmth.

I cannot but observe a considerate Providence in the removal of the husband before the wife. She has many things to sustain and console her. He would have had none. She has her children and

her grandchildren about her; he would have been alone and helpless in the extreme, with all the bitterness and keenness of sorrow which befalls one so entirely isolated and deprived irreparably of all the supports, alleviations, and balms that exist only in domestic life and the ministrations of affectionate and unpaid service.

It is a change to Evelyn,* who is discharged from an office of moderate emolument, but one of deep interest and instruction, and this, too, without a profession to fall back upon.

Referring to the assemblies given by Lady Palmerston, to which allusion has been made in an earlier part of this work,† Lord Shaftesbury continues :—

Oct. 30th.—These parties at Cambridge House gave golden bridges of opportunities to all of different opinions, of attitudes mutually hostile, of warring partisans, to members of the two Houses, to many of all degrees, professions, occupations in the Commons; to all these they furnished means of intercourse, of social amenities, of acquaintances, and, perhaps, reciprocal satisfaction. Party asperities were modified, and many personal errors mitigated or subdued. For some time, at least, but possibly for ever, such gatherings will find neither place nor patron.

The loss to Lord Shaftesbury, personally, in the death of his old and tried friend was irreparable. He refers to it thus :—

Ah, but to none will the loss be as it is to myself. I lose a man who, I knew, esteemed and loved me far beyond every other man living. He showed it in every action of his heart, in every expression of his lips, in private and in public as a man, as a relative, and as a Minister. His society was infinitely agreeable to me; and I admired, every day more, his patriotism, his simplicity of purpose, his indefatigable spirit of labour, his unfailing good humour, his kindness of heart, and his prompt, tender, and active

* The Hon. Evelyn Ashley was Lord Palmerston's private secretary.

† Vol. i., p. 284.

considerateness for others, in the midst of his heaviest toils and anxieties. A great and mighty door for good is now closed upon me, so far as I can see, for ever. This I may lament, while I bless God for such grand, such frequent, such prolonged opportunities of doing good service in my generation.

I have kept no record—I now regret the omission—of the various cases I brought before him, and successfully, for aid from the 'Bounty Money.' The applicants, in abundant instances, approached the Prime Minister through me as their channel, and, as I never undertook any but deserving cases, so I never met with anything but ready acquiescence.

So with honours to be bestowed. He listened at once to my earnest counsel to give baronetcies to Baxter, of Dundee, and Crossley, of Halifax, in acknowledgment of their princely generosity to the people. I persuaded him on behalf of McClintock and Harry Parkes, overlooked and disregarded, despite his great services, by Lord Russell. He was ever forward, nay, delighted, to recognise and reward merit, wherever it was found.

It was no slight interest to be so near the centre of all action in politics, the fountain-head of all information. He was very open and explicit with me at all times. In conversation he withheld nothing but what he could not, in honour, divulge, and though not given to voluntary communications, he imparted to me almost everything, if it arose in the order of our discourse.

Lord Shaftesbury next proceeds to review the whole history of Lord Palmerston's Church appointments. It need hardly be said, that almost every appointment gave great dissatisfaction to the High Church party, and that every fresh appointment made to the Bench of Bishops especially excited their anger and chagrin. The "Shaftesbury Bishops" were "as a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence" to them, and especially to Bishop Wilberforce, who, in a letter to Mr. Gladstone on the question of a Bill to abolish the declaration made

by Mayors, that they would not use their office against the Established Church, wrote:—"I shall be ready not to oppose the Bill if I find it possible to bring the Church party, and especially the bishops, to act together in that sense. I fear that this will not be easy. Lord Palmerston's wicked appointments meet us here at every turn—to yield everything to a Ministry, which every sound Churchman feels insults the Church almost every time it has to recommend to the Crown for a bishopric, is exceedingly hard." *

In his biography of Lord Palmerston, Mr. Evelyn Ashley says:—

"The Church patronage which Lord Palmerston administered during his two Premierships was so large that the principle on which he declared himself to act, and on which, indeed, he consistently did act, is worth reading in his own words. I can certainly of my own knowledge assert, that the one way in which a clergyman could make it certain that he would not get preferment, was to commence his letter of application by a statement of his political principles, thus making them a ground of claim. Lord Palmerston writes to Lord Carlisle, then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland:—

'I have never considered ecclesiastical appointments as patronage to be given away for grace and favour, and for personal or political objects. The choice to be made of persons to fill dignities in the Church must have a great influence on many important matters; and I have always endeavoured, in making such appointments, to

* "Life of Bishop Wilberforce," vol. iii., p. 84.

choose the best man I could find, without any regard to the wishes of those who may have recommended candidates for choice.' "

In the appendix to the work from which the above quotation is made, there is a remarkable letter from Lord Shaftesbury to the author, on the public and private character of Lord Palmerston, in which the following passage occurs :—

" He had much solicitude for the honour and efficiency of the episcopal office. He ever sought for good and proper men; and he discarded, in the search, all considerations of mere politics or attention to personal requests. 'If the man is a good man,' he often said, 'I don't care what his political opinions are. Certainly I had rather not name a bishop who would make party speeches and attacks on the Government in the House of Lords; but, short of that, let him do as he likes.' 'I am a very lucky man,' he remarked to me; 'luckier than most Ministers. I have no sons, grandsons, or nephews to stuff into the Church; and, so far as all that is concerned, I can do what I think right.' An instance of his disinterestedness occurred to myself. I had ventured to suggest to him the name of a very learned, but comparatively unknown, man, for a high professorship. 'I must state,' I added, 'that he is a person of no social account, and has no friends to endorse him.' 'What does that signify?' he replied; 'is he a proper man?' 'Yes, a very proper man.' 'Then he shall be appointed.' And he was so appointed.

"I must add here, that a part of his definition of a 'good and proper man' for the episcopal bench, was, one who would go on well with the Nonconformists. He had a very special dislike of every form of clerical assumption." *

Without any consideration of the merit, or otherwise, of Lord Palmerston's selections, the amount and variety of his cases of ecclesiastical preferment are historically curious. Nothing has been seen like it, in the career of any other Minister. It will be seen from the following list † that Lord Palmerston had at his disposal twenty-five mitres and ten deaneries; including three appointments to English and two to Irish archbishoprics, sixteen English and four Irish bishoprics, and ten English deaneries:—

English Archbishops.		
Canterbury	1862	Dr. Longley.
York	1860	Dr. Longley.
"	1862	Dr. Thomson.
English Bishops.		
London	1856	Dean Tait.
Durham	1856	Bishop Longley.
"	1860	Bishop Villiers.
"	1861	Bishop Baring.
Carlisle	1856	Dr. Villiers.
"	1860	Canon Waldegrave.
Gloucester and Bristol	1856	Dr. Baring.
" "	1861	Dr. Thomson.
" "	1861	Dean Ellicott.
Ripon	1856	Dr. Bickersteth.
Norwich	1857	Dr. Pelham.
Rochester	1860	Dr. Wigram.
Worcester	1860	Dr. Philpott.

* "Life of Lord Palmerston," by the Hon. Evelyn Ashley, M.P., vol. ii., p. 319.

† Extracted from the *Record*, Nov. 1st, 1865.

ENGLISH BISHOPS—*continued.*

Ely	1864	Canon Harold Browne.
Peterborough	1864	Dean Jeune.
Chester	1865	Canon Jacobson.

IRISH ARCHBISHOPS.

Armagh	1862	Dr. Beresford.
Dublin	1863	Dean Trench.

IRISH BISHOPS.

Cork	1857	Dr. Fitzgerald.
"	1862	Dr. J. Gregg.
Killaloe	1862	Dr. Fitzgerald.
Kilmore	1862	Dr. Verschoyle.

ENGLISH DEANS.

Christ Church, Oxford	1855	Dr. Liddell.
Westminster	1857	Dr. Trench.
"	1863	Dr. Stanley.
Canterbury	1857	Dr. Alford.
Carlisle	1856	Dr. Close.
Ripon	1859	Dr. Garnier.
"	1860	Dr. Goode.
Lincoln	1860	Dr. Garnier.
"	1864	Dr. Jeune.
"	1864	Dr. Jeremie.
Gloucester	1862	Dr. Henry Law.
Exeter	1861	Professor Ellicott.
"	1862	Viscount Midleton.

In addition to the above, Lord Palmerston made a considerable number of appointments to important livings in the gift of the Crown, as well as the appointment of Dr. Shirley to the Regius Professorship of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford, with a Canonry of Christchurch annexed, and of Dr. Payne Smith to the Regius Professorship of Divinity at Oxford, also with a Canonry of Christchurch.

We now turn to the Diary, for the statements of Lord Shaftesbury—the "Bishop-maker," as he was not

unfrequently called—with regard to these ecclesiastical preferments.

Nov. 1st.—In the matter of Church appointments, Palmerston was conspicuous for justice, propriety, impartiality, and freedom from merely political views.

He, at once, and from the very first, gave me his confidence on these matters, and I very early determined to look at every vacancy, not from my own, but from his point of view. Many fit men passed before me whom I would, had *I* been Prime Minister, have raised to high places in the Church; and so I told him; but I added, 'I do not advise you to do so, because you could not maintain them, if questioned, on the same grounds as myself, nor allege the same reasons. I must consider your position, the difficulties you have to contend against, the legitimate objections, even in such matters, that beset the path of a public man, and one, from his special office and responsibility, by no means in the attitude and powers of a private patron. I must propose what you and I can defend, not that which could be defended by myself alone.'

The first appointments were so successful that they influenced elections, turned votes in the House of Commons, and raised around him a strong party in the country. Some three years after the beginning of his career, he visited Lancashire and Yorkshire; and he spoke to me, on his return, of the vast favour he had met with; and how he had been, everywhere, thanked for his nominations in the Church. The effect was seen in the anger of Lord Derby, who openly attacked them in the House of Lords, though with no response, either there or in the kingdom; impelled, no doubt, under the inspiration of the Bishop of Oxford, to run amuck, in his High Church and Tractarian fury, against the Evangelical character and truth of the earlier bishops. He was always anxious that they should be good men, active, zealous, and sound members of the Church of England. He regarded any approximation to Popery, Popish doctrines, and Popish practices, with special dislike and even fear. From the commencement, I obtained his full assent that, on all occasions, men should be selected who would be moderate and decent in their language towards Nonconformists, and civil in their personal intercourse with them. He felt, as I did, the folly, nay, the iniquity,

of haughty sacerdotal bearing, of vituperative epithets, of clerical despotism, towards the body of Dissenters; he saw, too, and resolved, if he could, to obviate the danger of such an ecclesiastical arrogance.

The Church gained, by this, an immense popularity and strength, which she is beginning to lose from no other cause than the proud, domineering assumptions of Convocation and Church Congresses.

The lists will show the great number and variety of the several appointments. Yet not one was even questioned, and Dr. Pusey himself, in supporting Gladstone's election against Gathorne Hardy, remarked that, 'if all were not such as he could have wished, all, at any rate, were in the interests of religion.' . . .

He oftentimes thanked me, in the warmest language, for the advice I gave him, and showed his appreciation of it by never making but one appointment, so far as I can recollect (that of Blakesly, Canon of Canterbury), without consulting me on the matter.

The first bishops were decidedly of the Evangelical School; and my recommendations were made with that intention. I could not foresee the duration of his power, and I was resolved to put forward men who would preach the truth, be active in their dioceses, be acceptable to the working people, and not offensive to the Nonconformists. He accepted my suggestions on these very grounds, and heartily approved them.

As his power was increased and prolonged, and a fair probability appeared of a durable administration, I felt, and he felt, the expediency of somewhat enlarging the sphere of selection; the First Minister of the Crown standing in a position, as I have observed before, widely different from that of a private patron.

After his junction with the Peel party, he observed to me, 'I should like to be a little cautious in the selection of bishops, so as not, unnecessarily, to vex my colleagues, some of whom are very high. It is a bore to see angry looks, and have to answer questions of affected ignorance. This must not stand in the way of fit men, but, if we can now and then combine the two, so much the better.'

This expression of feeling altered, of course, in some measure, the external appearance of the nominations. I say 'external,' because the principle remained the same; but it was difficult, henceforward, to select worthy, qualified—nay, even first-rate men, if they were altogether unknown, without a ready answer attached to their names should a question be asked. The range was limited. Public opinion,

represented by the public press, limited the range still more, by perpetually calling for 'learned men' to fill the sees. The Tractarians did so, in the hope of forcing the elevation of some of their mediæval school; the Neologians, to push forward such as Colenso.

I saw this, and foresaw, also, that this new demand, sustained by almost every paper, would eventually be serious, greatly embarrass him under the pressure of the business of his office, and cause him disquietude, and so lead to a change in his mode of action.

He never gave a hint, himself, of any altered views; but I determined to seek, from that time forward, the best men that could be found, possessing such qualities and attainments as might render them good, though not the best, men.

Professors, tutors, and dons of colleges are by no means, on an average, men fitted for episcopal duty. The knowledge of mankind, and experience of parochial life, are not acquired in musty libraries and easy-chairs. Practical divinity is one thing, speculative divinity another, and the accomplishments that make an active and useful bishop, are purchased at the cost of that learning which would make him a theological champion, armed at all points, and ready on all occasions.

The later appointments proceeded on this principle; and, God be praised, some adequate men were found. Position, however, satisfied the public; a dean, an archdeacon, a professor, or the head of a college, was assumed by them without inquiry to be a 'learned man. So intent were the malcontents on this point, that when Conway, the vicar of Rochester, was appointed to the Canonry of Westminster, he was pronounced, until it was known that he had been fifth Wrangler at Cambridge, to be unfit to preach the Gospel to the poor of St. Margaret's.

He was sensitive, from the very first, in respect of the 'feelings at Cambridge.' After two Oxford men had been appointed to the Bench, he said to me, 'Pray look out for a Cambridge man; they turned me out of Cambridge, and I should not like to be thought resentful.' To this end Bickersteth was appointed Bishop of Ripon.

I suggested to him Dr. Tait for London, then Dean of Carlisle. I did so as believing that the 'Broad Church' ought to be represented (I advised as though Prime Minister), and selected Dr. Tait as the mildest among them. It is an appointment in some respects to be regretted, in other respects to be commended, for, undoubtedly,

we have got from him, as Bishop of London, ten times as much as ever was obtained from one, or all, of his predecessors.

Dr. Ellicott's appointment will be good for the end to which it was made. First, a Cambridge man was wanted; secondly, some one in a high theological position; and thirdly, my own feeling that honour should be done to every one (whenever occasion offered) connected with the answers to 'Essays and Reviews.'

The original nomination of Dr. Trench to the Deanery of Westminster was entirely his own. I found, when I asked it for Dr. McCaul, that he had made up his mind for Dr. Trench. I do not know who advised him; certainly, he himself knew little or nothing of the Doctor.

But it was at my suggestion that he made him Archbishop of Dublin.

Garnier also was his own. He was a worthy man, the son of his old friend the Dean of Winchester; but I suggested his two successors, Dr. Jeune and Dr. Jeremie.

Twice under my advice he offered a bishopric to Dr. Vaughan, of Harrow, and was, in each case, refused.

In reference to the Deanery of Ch. Ch., I had no share beyond that of joining, with many others, to recommend Dr. Liddell.

Dr. Jacobson was proposed for my consideration in the following way:—The see of Chester being vacant, I had suggested, and Palmerston had accepted, the name of Archdeacon Prest, of Durham. Shortly afterwards he wrote to me, and enclosed a letter from Gladstone. In this a statement was made that Jacobson was the chairman of his Election Committee; that the nomination of this professor to the vacant see would be very encouraging, and greatly strengthen his interests, the usual expressions being added of 'fit man,' 'learned man,' &c., &c.

Palmerston asked my opinion very seriously. 'I should be glad,' he said, 'to aid Gladstone to keep his seat for Oxford, because, small though it may be, it tends a little to check him, and save him from running into wild courses. But I will not do it unless you assure me that the Doctor is a proper man.' . . .

Well, this is the only nomination that had a taint of politics in it; and there is much to be said on its behalf. But it is, so far as I know, the only one where the bishop has openly and speedily given offence. Departing from the excellent precedents set by his

predecessors, Bishops Sumner and Graham, he has peremptorily refused, both to Chester and the great town of Liverpool, his sanction to the Bible Society.

The anxiety and toil, the hopes and fears, the endless correspondence and interviews, the care in the selection of the men to be suggested, the inquiries into their antecedents, the perusal of their published sentiments, the sense of responsibility, the prayers for "light and guidance," the reproaches of the High Church Party—these form the subject of innumerable entries in the Diary during the years that Lord Palmerston was Premier and his Church appointments were made under the advice of Lord Shaftesbury. He was greatly assisted in his labours by Mr. Haldane, to whom, when a history of the appointments was published in the *Record*, he wrote :—

ST. GILES'S, *November* 14th, 1865.

DEAR HALDANE,—The document you have sent me, exhibiting the ecclesiastical patronage bestowed by Lord Palmerston, is a document demanding gratitude and prayer to Almighty God.

No three Prime Ministers together, had attained the number; and all in a lump, since Prime Ministers began, cannot show the same quality of appointment, or the same disinterested spirit in the several nominations. . . .

You may take to yourself very large consolation. That list may be to you, by God's mercy, one of 'the pleasures of memory.' Your wide experience, sound judgment, and Christian heart, were of signal, nay, indispensable importance; and now that we, like all other 'dogs, have had our day,' and are shrunk again to our former proportions, let us bless the Lord that, in His good pleasure, He used us, and has done so much by small instruments.

Salutem multam in Jesu Christo.

Yours, S.

In closing his review of Lord Palmerston's life, and its influence on Church and State, Lord Shaftesbury writes:—

We must now be prepared for vast and irrevocable changes. Palmerston was the grand pillar appointed, under God's Providence, to which all the vessels of the State were linked, and so the fleet was held to its moorings. It is now cast down; the ships are set afloat without rudder or compass, and will drift in every direction over the broad sea.

We seem as though we were going to do everything that we most disliked. No one wishes for Reform, and yet every one will give it. The Parliament is called moderate, and even 'liberally' *Conservative;* but it will prove decidedly revolutionary. The period is approaching, when the real effects of the Reform Bill will begin to be felt, for many of the calmest and most thinking men foretold, at that time, that, while many and great changes would take place (as they have done), there would be no organic revolution till after the lapse of some twenty or thirty years.

Two vast changes may be traced within the last few years changes in the mode of thinking, and of the estimate formerly attached to ideas and institutions. The elective franchise is no longer considered as a means to good government, but is, in itself, even where good government exists, a right and an enjoyment for the people. It is treated as a principle of education, as a mode of elevating the working classes, without any reflection how, unless properly used, it will depress every other.

The position of the House of Lords is materially lowered; and such must necessarily be the issue of enlarged desires and powers in the House of Commons. I remember that, when Lord Melbourne became Prime Minister, he lamented, and his friends lamented also, that he had no majority in the House of Lords. It was of importance then that the Minister should not be weak in the 'Upper House,' as it is, at present, called. But what Minister, or what man, now thinks of the House of Lords? What voice, or even whisper, has it in the formation, or support, of an Administration? None. It is allowed to debate, transact private business, and reject a few unimportant Bills; but its vital powers are gone, and never will it

dare to resist the House of Commons for two years on any point, as it resisted them for twenty on the Roman Catholic question.

The long and short of our present position is, that the time has arrived (*novus sæclorum nascitur ordo*) for the triumph of the Manchester School, of which Gladstone is the disciple and the organ. And, for the nonce, they have a great advantage; for, though the majority of the country is against them, the country has no leaders in or out of Parliament; whereas they are well provided, and are equally compact in purpose and action.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1866—1867.

A Gloomy Prospect—Keeping Pace with the Times—Homeless Boys—The *Chichester* and *Arethusa* Training Ships—Loss of Early Friends—Dr. Pusey on the Prophet Daniel—The Victoria Institute—The Reform Bill—Correspondence with the Earl of Derby—Office of the Duchy of Lancaster declined—Controversy on Ritualism—Visit to St. Alban's Church, Holborn—Social Science Congress, Manchester—The Reform Bill in the House of Lords—A Remarkable Speech—Tendencies towards Democracy—Socialism—Conservative Working Men—A Conservative Democracy—Letter from the Right Hon. Robert Lowe—Agricultural Gangs—Bill for Regulating the Labour of Juveniles in Workshops—Clerical Vestments Bill—Proposed Abolition of the Fifty-eighth Canon—Sacerdotal Dominion—A Ritual Commission appointed—Letter from Right Hon. Spencer Walpole—In Paris—Opening of the Salle Évangélique—Theatre Services—Sir James South—Deputation to Napoleon III.

THE year 1866 opened gloomily for Lord Shaftesbury. Many of the measures on which his heart was set, were exposed to peril; Lord Palmerston, the "man in whom he trusted," was no more; the law-suits in which he was engaged with Waters, his late steward, and with Mr. Lewer, one of his tenants, had taken an unfavourable turn he had never contemplated; a full investigation into his own financial circumstances caused him much uneasiness. Ever since he began the Factory Question, he had laid out on that, and kindred movements, large sums of money; for charitable and religious purposes he had been compelled to act in excess of what he was able to afford, lest, by apparent parsimony, he

should bring "outward profession" into contempt; and the cottage-building and drainage works at St. Giles's—undertaken to employ labour and to elevate the people—and the whole farming system had, by the mismanagement of his steward, proved ruinous. He had dreamed a dream, and on awakening, he wrote—

> . . . I acted upon feeling, and trusted to the conclusions of my imagination, not realising the fact that there is no promise of miracles to be wrought to supply what might be done by common sense, and that mere warmth of heart is a very deceptive guide in the details of life.

Notwithstanding these depressing circumstances, Lord Shaftesbury did not for a moment relax his hold of the many things he had in progress, or of others he had in contemplation. His only difficulty was that he could not keep pace with his work; to keep pace with the times, he had long since given up as a hopeless task. Referring to this, he says:—

> The wondrous mental activity of the day in newspapers, periodicals, pamphlets, lectures, speeches, on all subjects of science, religion, politics, a mighty proportion of it sparkling with ability and learning (however far from the truth, and however hostile to it), keeps the brain—if duty or inclination drives a man to be mixed up in it—in a perpetual whirl. To follow Tractarianism and Popery in all their aggression; to watch Neology, and every new phase of assault on the Scriptures; to wait on the movements of the Nonconformists; to trace the single and combined actions of Radicals and Dissenters against Church and State; to share in the general legislature of the country, would puzzle and distract any system of faculties, however vigorous.

A movement, which for many years had been contemplated by Lord Shaftesbury, was inaugurated in the

early part of 1866. On February the 14th, invitations were sent to the casual wards, and other similar places of resort, inviting some of the homeless boys of London, under sixteen years of age, to a supper at St. Giles's Refuge, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields.

It was a cold, wet night, and when the 150 who had given in their names, made their appearance at seven o'clock—an hour before the proper time—they presented a miserable spectacle, with garments tattered and torn, and rather hanging about their limbs than covering them. The majority were quite barefooted, and all of them belonged to the most forlorn and wretched classes of society. On being questioned, they gave ready answers concerning themselves and their miserable history; how they sold fusees or begged for a livelihood, and slept at night in casual wards or refuges, and, for the most part, knew nothing whatever of their parents.

After a good supper, an adjournment was made to another room, when addresses were delivered to them, or rather a kind of conference was held as to any means that might be devised for rescuing boys of this class from the career of crime and misery which awaited them, and, by the institution of some scheme of employment, prevent them from becoming tramps and vagrants, and a pest to society.

Lord Shaftesbury addressed to the boys a series of direct questions, having first enjoined a truthful and fearless response to his interrogatories. The answers were given promptly and decisively.

"Let all those boys who have ever been in prison hold up their hands," he said first, and immediately about twenty or thirty hands were held up.

"Let those who have been in prison twice, hold up their hands." About ten were held up.

"How many in prison three times?" Five were held up.

"Is it the case that the greater part of you boys are running about town all day, and sleeping where you can at night?" A general response was made to this query.

"How do you get your livelihood?" Some boys called out, "Holding horses"—"Begging"—"Cleaning boots."

"Would you like to get out of your present line of life, and into one of honest industry?" A general and enthusiastic "Yes" was the reply.

"Supposing that there were, in the Thames, a big ship, large enough to contain a thousand boys, would you like to be placed on board to be taught trades, or trained for the navy and merchant service?"

A forest of upraised hands settled these alternatives in the affirmative.

"Do you think that another 200 boys out of the streets would say the same?" "We do."

With kindly words the boys were dismissed; but a stone was set rolling that day. The *Times* took up the movement warmly; the matter was discussed by the Committee of the Boys' Refuge, and two projects were at once under consideration: the first, to ascertain if the

Lords of the Admiralty would give one of the useless ships of war, then lying in Her Majesty's dockyards, to be fitted up as a training ship for homeless boys who would wish to follow a seafaring life; and the second, to obtain, by hire or gift, an old-fashioned house with about fifty acres of land, a few miles from London, where those boys not fitted for sea, could be trained to agricultural pursuits, so as to supply the labour market at home, or to qualify themselves for colonial life.

The Government readily granted the *Chichester*, a fifty-gun frigate, which had never been out of dock, and in November Lord Shaftesbury noted in his Diary:—

Nov. 6th.—To-day to Poplar to see ship in preparation for our school. It has been a dream of fifteen years and more. We have dashed on and are ready for action. If the means are supplied, the result is as certain as the movement of the planets; but I tremble lest the zeal of my friend Williams, and my own, may not have plunged us into responsibilities beyond our strength. God alone can give us of the nation's abundance, and make the rich pour their bounties into the treasury.

The zeal of Lord Shaftesbury and his friend, Mr. William Williams—who, for a quarter of a century, has been the life and soul of this great work for "The Homeless and Destitute"—was a "wise indiscretion." On the 20th of December, the inauguration of the *Chichester* took place, and Lord Shaftesbury, in his opening speech, asked:—

Was it not a scandal that this great country, whose sole defence, under God, rested in her navy, could not man her ships, and had to depend, in a large degree, upon foreigners? It seemed absolutely necessary that everything possible should be done to keep up the

marine, and he believed, if the public supported the present movement so that they might keep 400 boys on board, they might, from year to year, send forth some 200 lads to the merchant service.

Success attended these efforts. In course of time the *Arethusa* was granted for the same purpose; the Farm and Shaftesbury Schools, at Bisley, and Fortescue House, at Twickenham, were opened for the training of boys for colonial life; Girls' Refuges were established at Sudbury and Ealing; other organisations were set on foot, and "The National Refuges for Homeless and Destitute Children" have been, throughout the years that have passed, a blessing and an honour to the country.

In the spring of this year, Lord Shaftesbury was feeling the beginning of the sorrows which advancing life inevitably brings—the loss of early friends.

My old, dear, precious friend, whom I have known and loved for orty years, Lady Ellesmere, is at the point of death. For herself I mourn not, for she loves, and by God's grace, has long loved, our blessed Lord. As far as any human being can be fit, she is fit to die.

Many of my contemporaries are in sickness. Sturt is lying very ill at Critchel. God comfort him, and sanctify this visitation to his inmost heart. The Speaker, too, Denison, exhibits a feebleness which, at his age, is alarming. My friendship with him began at college.

March 28th.—St. Giles. On Tuesday early went over to Critchel. Sturt desired to see me. Knelt at his bedside and talked of our blessed Lord. He is full of faith, hating all self-merits, and looking only to a crucified Saviour. In the presence of death and separation from a very old and true friend, this is unshakable consolation. Here you have, as I said to him, the realisation of the ancient Christian motto, '*Mors janua vitæ*,' death the gate of life. To myself he was tender in the extreme, said how he loved me, and desired, as we

parted, that I would kiss his forehead. It is a sad thing to lose any one that loves you. I have lost many lately, but may I labour the more for the love of our blessed Lord!

Every fresh year, the busy month of May brought an accession of new labours, and this year a speech, delivered at the annual meeting of the Jews' Society, brought upon Lord Shaftesbury some sharp criticism from friends as well as foes. After asking how the Society, as "the great preacher and avower of simple, pure, unmixed Evangelical truth," stood in the midst of growing heresies, he directed attention to two works, which he advised each member of the Society to procure:—

> The first of them is 'Lectures on the Prophet Daniel,' by the Rev. Dr. Pusey, and the other is 'Lectures on Isaiah,' by the Rev. Dr. Payne Smith, Regius Professor of Divinity. It may, perhaps, startle some of you, that I should recommend a work written by Dr. Pusey. He may have some opinions from which we differ with respect to our views of ecclesiastical points, but I believe that a man of greater intellect, of more profound attainments, or of a more truly pious heart than Dr. Pusey, it would be difficult to find in any Christian nation. These volumes completely dispose of all the figments pretended to be drawn from reason and argument, with respect to predictions concocted after the event, or with regard to pseudo-Isaiahs. If you read these volumes, you will find that they have not left a single scrap of reasoning, a single shred of fact, to bring to bear against the volume of Revelation.*

The Victoria Institute, "for prosecuting researches into true Science, and for antagonism to anti-Christian philosophy," was founded in this year. Lord Shaftesbury was its president from the first, and took a deep interest in its proceedings.

* *Jewish Intelligencer*, June 1, 1866.

May 25th.—Yesterday took chair of inaugural meeting of Victoria Institute. I dare, as it were, to take Heaven by storm, and assume that God, for His blessed Son's sake, will prosper and advance this institute, founded, as it is, to show the necessary, eternal, and Divine harmony between true Science and Revelation.

The great subject of political controversy in 1866 and 1867 was the Reform Bill. We extract a few from many entries in the Diary, relating to it.

March 12th, 1866.—To-day, Reform is to be proposed in House of Commons—some thirty years after first Bill; the next will be ten years hence; the next some two or three, and then?

April 30th.—Government have carried their Reform Bill by five, and intend to remain in. They are right, and I rejoice in their decision. The debate has been, on the whole, a very fine exhibition of intellectual power; Lowe's speech was a masterpiece of sustained and consecutive logic, and of well-chosen and adapted eloquence, well chosen both in character and in place. His facts were singularly illustrative, and stated with a brevity and precision of singular effect. I doubt whether a speech better adapted to place, persons, and circumstances was ever delivered in any country, or in any age.

June 20th.—A division on Tuesday, 18th, in which Government was beaten by eleven. The Ministers yesterday announced that they had communicated with Her Majesty (absent at Balmoral), and adjourned the Houses until Monday. This threatens resignation.

June 28th.—Derby called to make an Administration.

The next day, Lord Shaftesbury received the following letter:—

The Earl of Derby to Lord Shaftesbury.

ST. JAMES'S SQUARE, *June 29th*, 1866.

DEAR SHAFTESBURY,—Believing that you are not too well pleased with the course pursued by the Government since they lost Palmerston's leadership, and that you would not be unwilling to aid the formation of such an Administration as I have now received authority to construct, I should be very glad of a few minutes' conversation

with you if you can name, by the messenger who will wait for your answer, any hour to-day at which you would oblige me by calling here.

Yours sincerely,

DERBY.

In the interview, which took place the same day, Lord Derby, in offering to Lord Shaftesbury the Duchy of Lancaster, said that he had been anxious to obtain his co-operation in order that he might, thereby, refute the charge that the Conservatives were "hostile to the working classes," and that, if he took such an office, with a seat in the Cabinet, he might have leisure for some of his ordinary engagements. Lord Derby added that the presence of Lord Shaftesbury would, to no small extent, represent the opinions and policy of Lord Palmerston.

Later in the day the following letter was written :—

Lord Shaftesbury to the Earl of Derby.

June 29th, 1866.

DEAR DERBY,—A sense of duty, and personal regard for yourself, have induced me to consider your proposition with much anxiety.

Earnestly as I wish you success, I cannot believe that the addition of my name alone, to the list of your former colleagues, would render you any effective service. You have done your best, I know, to enlarge the basis of your Administration; but the state of men's opinions, it seems, is not favourable to such an issue.

While, however, I should bring but little aid to your Cabinet, I should, in fact, withdraw myself from the many and various pursuits which have occupied a very large portion of my life; and which, so far from abatement as I grow older, appear to increase in number and force, there remaining yet fourteen hundred thousand women, children, and young persons to be brought under the protection of

the Factory Acts. Nor is my presence in your Government in any wise necessary to refute the unjust remarks made by Earl Russell in the House of Lords, which I, and every one, heard with regret, for I can assert that, during my long career in the House of Commons, I received ample support, not only from some of the Whigs and Radicals, but also from many members of the Conservative party.

If I believed that any permanent strength might be the result of my acceptance of the Duchy of Lancaster, which you have been so kind as to propose to me, I should hesitate, even more than I now do, to venture on a refusal of it. But as I foresee no benefit to you, and for myself simply a necessary retirement from the work in which I am engaged, I cordially thank you for your remembrance of me, and entreat you to allow me to decline your offer, which I shall ever regard as a very high honour.

Yours sincerely,

SHAFTESBURY.

Lord Derby was very loth to accept this refusal, and urged, through a third party, its reconsideration—suggesting, at the same time, the Home Office, or the Presidentship of the Council, if preferred to the Duchy of Lancaster. But Lord Shaftesbury remained firm. "It would have been a self-sacrifice without any adequate result," he says in his Diary.

This was the last time that he was invited to take part in the councils of any Government. It was clear to Ministers that the position he occupied in politics and in social life was unique, and that any attempt to impose upon him the restraints of office would be useless, and henceforth they ceased to trouble him.

Towards the close of this year, Lord Shaftesbury, urged to the step by many friends, took an active part in the great controversy concerning Ritualism. Still true to the practice which had been useful to him all

through his life, he determined, first of all, to go and see for himself what were actually the proceedings in the Ritualistic Churches. The following is a description of what he witnessed at St. Alban's, Holborn, the scene of the ministrations of the Rev. A. H. Mackonochie.

July 23rd.—On Sunday to St. Alban's Church, in Holborn, with Stephens and Haldane. In outward form and ritual, it is the worship of Jupiter and Juno. It may be Heaven itself in the inward sense, which none but God can penetrate. A *high altar* reached by several steps, a cross over it—no end of pictures. The chancel very large, and separated from the body of the Church by a tall iron grill. Abundance of servitors, &c., in Romish apparel. Service intoned and sung, except the Lessons, by priests with white surplices and green stripes.

This being ended, a sudden clearance. All disappeared. In a few minutes, the organ, the choristers, abundant officials, and three priests in green silk robes, the middle priest having on his back a cross embroidered, as long as his body. This was the beginning of the Sacramental service (quarter-past eleven), the whole having begun at half-past ten. Then ensued such a scene of theatrical gymnastics, of singing, screaming, genuflections, such a series of strange movements of the priests, their backs almost always to the people, as I never saw before even in a Romish Temple. Clouds upon clouds of incense, the censer frequently refreshed by the High Priest, who kissed the spoon, as he dug out the sacred powder, and swung it about at the end of a silver chain. The priests in the chancel, and the priest when he mounted the pulpit, crossing themselves, each time, once on the forehead, and once on the right and left breast. A quarter of an hour, or thereabouts, sufficed to administer to about seventy Communicants, out of perhaps six hundred present. An hour and three-quarters were given to the histrionic part. The Communicants went up to the tune of soft music, as though it had been a melodrama, and one was astonished, at the close, that there was no fall of the curtain.

'God is a Spirit; and they that worship Him must worship Him

in spirit and in truth.' Is our blessed Lord obeyed in such observances and ceremonials? Do we thus lead souls to Christ or to Baal?

In August, Lord Shaftesbury was unwell, not seriously, but sufficiently so for him to procure the best medical advice. An exaggerated report found its way to the newspapers; the most alarming statements were circulated, and leading articles—kept in reserve in editorial lockers for obituaries—were taken out and adapted to the present circumstances. A denial from Lord Shaftesbury of the truth of the rumours, set the matter at rest. He refers to it in the Diary thus:—

August 8th.—On Wednesday, when such terrible rumours were abroad of my illness, upwards of four hundred persons, a very large proportion of the poorer class, called at my door. It touches me, and I bless God and pray for their welfare.

Although Lord Shaftesbury declined to become the representative of the working classes in the Cabinet, he lost no opportunity of furthering their interests. This was especially needful at the time that the Reform League was in full agitation, and when monster meetings were of frequent occurrence in the public parks. It was on the 23rd of July that the riot took place on the occasion of the "great" Reform League procession, when the railings in Hyde Park were thrown down, and an encounter between the police and the mob ensued.

August 9th.—Have laboured much to put the Government and Derby right with the working classes. Effected for him several opportunities of saying conciliatory words in House of Lords. Have spoken to D'Israeli, whom I found, as I always found him in House of Commons, decided and true to the cause.

In October, he had before him the presidency of the Social Science Congress at Manchester, with an inaugural address and many other things. He had not visited the people there since the Famine, and this was his chief inducement to accept the invitation.

Oct. 2nd (Manchester).—With my old friend in the Polygon, Fairbairn. Immense meeting of Bible Society in evening, Free Trade Hall.

Oct. 4th.—Inaugural address last night. Sharp work. Tuesday, journey from London and Bible Society in evening. Wednesday, interviews, meeting of Council, service in Cathedral, and address in evening. To-day, assize court, then to Health Section, afterwards chair of Sunday School Union and speech. Then to Reformatory Section at half-past eight, and speech. Then *soirée* and home.

Oct. 5th. — Chair for Denman's address and Dudley Field's Section of Trade, &c., for discussion on labourers' dwellings. At four o'clock, chair of Women's Employment Commission. At eight, chair of workmen's meeting in Free Trade Hall. Seven thousand people: a glorious sight, and most successful.

Oct. 7th.—Yesterday, chair for address by Bruce. Then Health Section, speech on sanitary matters. Then two tedious sittings to photographers. First stone of Ragged School, open-air speech. Meeting at Town Hall of delegates from cotton districts of Lancashire (very, very satisfactory). In evening, 'Free Libraries,' and, as usual, 'a few words.'

Oct. 9th.—Yesterday, attendance in Sections, chair and speeches of course. In evening, chair of Co-operative Society. The zeal, enthusiasm, ardour of the people is beyond expression. It is almost fabulous. *Non nobis, Domine.* Never had such success in my life. Deeply regret that London papers have not noticed the grand meeting of workmen.

Oct. 10th.—Last night grand festival, myself in chair, with a frightful cold and cough, caught in the Abbey on Sunday. Speech of course, but cut short by *extinction de voix.*

To-day, early council, and then chair to close Congress. The day was interesting. Some kind words to myself, specially from Dudley

Field, a very distinguished American lawyer. Afterwards to see some local abominations.

Have been hurried, occupied, beset, run up, run down without a moment of repose, scarcely one to write to Minny, and yet I am strong, lively, unwearied, with no malady but my cold.

Oct. 12th (London).—Arrived here from Burnley, having visited Sir J. Shuttleworth, at Gawthorpe, to distribute his prizes.

Must by-and-by make a short summary. Yet here at once record the wonderful results, for mind and body, of the Ten-Hours Bill. It is as manifest as the curing of the leper.

My success in Manchester was miraculous. In London the report of it is narrow and faint. The report of the address was alone printed. The prodigiously valuable and important meeting with the workpeople is not even mentioned. This I deeply regret, partly because the singular truth, fidelity, and affection of the operatives ought to be known, and partly because my power to do good, and to force the Government to do good, depends on the belief that people entertain of my possessing the confidence and love of the masses. I consider that, so far as London is concerned, the whole thing is a failure, and yet it was mainly to affect the Ministers and the Legislature that I undertook the fearful toil.

There were few of the busy years of Lord Shaftesbury's life more crowded with important occupation than the year 1867. "The work to be done," he says, "is greater than ever: more zeal, more energy, more knowledge, more patience, more activity, more strength, and last, though not least, more money." "All this," he adds, elsewhere, "drains one's mind and exhausts one's body, and the simple issue is that many think me a fool, and some regard me as a hypocrite." That sentence was written in weariness and depression. The inspiration and strength of his labours lay in the assurance to which he frequently gives utterance, "But surely this

career has been ordained to me by God, and I therein rejoice, yea, and will rejoice."

The three principal labours of the year, in addition to "the repetition of daily and nightly chairs, of wearisome speeches, of interviews, committees, and correspondence," were the Reform Bill, the completion of his legislation on Factories, and the Ritualistic Controversy.

Of the progress of the Reform Bill he writes:—

Feb. 25th.—To-night D'Israeli will inaugurate Reform in great earnest. Household suffrage is the end, as sure as destiny. It is worthy of consideration whether it would not be better to concede it *now*, than have it *torn* from us *then*.

March 4th.—It seems to me monstrous that a body of men who resisted Mr. Gladstone's Bill as an extreme measure, with such great pertinacity, should accept the power he retired from, and six months afterwards introduce a Bill many degrees nearer than his to universal suffrage, and establishing, beyond all contradiction, the principle they so fiercely combated, of giving a predominant interest to any class. Every period brings something to shake confidence in public men, and weaken thereby all means of carrying on, under real and trying difficulties, the National Government.

Lord Derby and his friends should have stated this to the Parliament, and declared that, seeing the necessity, the inevitable necessity, of extreme legislation, they, who had always opposed, surrendered their places to the men who had always enforced Reform principles.

March 9th.—It is in vain for Gladstone to protest his desire that the present men should remain in office. Politic though such a forbearance would seem to be, his language and his acts, his private statements inconsistent with, and contradictory of, his public statements, all prove him to be governed by the greed of place and salary and power. D'Israeli is no better. Here are two tigers over a carcase; and each one tries to drive the other away from the tit-bits. 'What was a conflict last year,' said Lowe, 'is a race now,' a race not for eternity of life to millions of souls, but for the pride and selfishness of a few to issue in the destruction of an empire. I could forgive,

and even admire, a republican zeal, a democratic fury, however mistaken I might think it, founded on firm, though erroneous, convictions of human advancement; but this mockery of patriotism and truth is beyond one's endurance, and we cry out, helpless as we are and of no avail, 'Unclean, unclean.' . . . Derby told his friends that if they passed his Bill, they would 'be in office for many years.' Thus it is; all alike—all equally carnivorous. It is not the welfare of the realm, the security of our institutions, but the certainty of place. 'Throw out the Bill,' says Gladstone, 'and promise my friends the same.' '*Voilà ce que nous sommes*,' as the *chiffonier* said over the dead cur.

On the 15th of July, the Reform Bill passed through the third reading in the House of Commons, "with vociferous cheering and clapping of hands." Referring to this Lord Shaftesbury says:—

July 17th.—The gross hypocrisy; with the exception of a very few advanced Democrats, they all detest and fear the measure. But it is a sensual and self-seeking age; they hate trouble, they hate responsibility, they hate to look an evil (though certain) in the face. 'They crown their cups with roses, and their heads with folly and forgetfulness.'

On the 16th of July, the Reform Bill was read a first time in the House of Lords, and Lord Shaftesbury was urged by many to speak on the second reading. He felt "timid, reluctant, full of doubt and misgiving," and yet he could not resist the conviction that he must do it; he would not assist to discredit the House of Lords and add one more to the many who would shun the task. He therefore, on the 22nd, moved the adjournment of the debate, so as to speak the first on the following evening. "I tremble at what I have done," he wrote that night in his Diary, "and, like Moses, do exceedingly fear and quake."

The remarkable speech made by Lord Shaftesbury, will never be forgotten so long as this generation can remember that long period of controversy when some of the finest speeches that were ever made in the Houses of Parliament were uttered. His voice rang through the country like the voice of John the Baptist in the palace halls of Herod; he tore down the mask that was hiding the real features of the Bill, and he exposed, with almost prophetic wisdom, its true issues.

"It is somewhat difficult," he said, in his opening sentence, "to argue against a Bill which we do not wish to reject, and which it seems next to impossible that we can amend." But that difficulty was overcome, and he proceeded to his task.

> Now, my Lords, I do not entertain any hostility to reform—very far from it. I have long been of opinion that some reform, though not necessary for good government, had become indispensable; indeed, inevitable. It is not necessary to enter into the various causes which have made it so; but I readily admit that some measure of reform could not much longer be postponed. I should have wished, however, to proceed more carefully and gradually. I should have wished to hold up the suffrage as a great object of ambition to the working man; I should have wished to hold it up as the reward of thrift, honesty, and industry.

He cited, in illustration of his meaning, that in the Pottery districts out of 9,000 potters in receipt of good wages, 3,000 had purchased their own freeholds and were living in their own houses. The addition of thousands of such men, elevated by such means, would be an honour and a security to the kingdom.

To proceed, as is done by this Bill, to lift by the sudden jerk of an Act of Parliament, the whole residuum of society up to the level of the honest, thrifty working man, is, I am sure, perilous to the State, and, I believe, distasteful to the working men themselves. I am sure it dishonours the suffrage, and that you are throwing the franchise broadcast over the heads of men who will accept it, but who will misuse it.

It had been stated that the present Bill was for the purpose of restoring to the people their rights. This was a view Lord Shaftesbury strongly combated—the notion that the election franchise was a right and not a trust. He said:—

I shrink from openly asserting to what an extent the issues of that notion may be pushed. That the elective franchise was a trust, was a doctrine of an elevating character; now that you say it is a right of all, I cannot see how it is possible for us to remain within the four corners of the Bill which you have now propounded. . . . Well, my lords, having laid down this principle that the suffrage is a right, and that universal satisfaction is your object, I hold that you have also laid down the great principal of universal suffrage; it is even clearer when you come to the lodger franchise, for see how the enactment will work upon the whole system. The lodger franchise assumes this principle: it contemplates the voter simply as a man, and not as a man in connection with the duties of a citizen. . . . He is not under the necessity of paying rates; he has not to serve as a juror, or discharge any of the functions which fall to the lot of the householder or ratepayer. Just see how this will operate. Take it, in the first place, in the capital and the great towns. You can, as yet, form no notion whatever of the numbers that will be added to the register in London, and the great towns, by the lodger clause. You are going to build in the dark; you are laying down a principle of the most expansive character, so expansive that there is no human force that will be able to control it.

Warning the House that the career upon which it had entered in adopting the lodger franchise and house-

hold suffrage was dangerous, Lord Shaftesbury expressed his opinion that this inevitably tended to the establishment of democracy. Direct democratic violence, he considered, was not to be feared. The changes would be brought about by the "stealthy progress of legislation." Among the evils he anticipated, was the spread of Socialism—

I am sure that a large proportion of the working classes have a deep and solemn conviction—and I have found it among working people of religious views—that property is not distributed as property ought to be; that some checks ought to be kept upon the accumulation of property in single hands; that to take away, by a legislative enactment, that which is in excess, with a view to bestow it on those who have insufficient means, is not a breach of any law, human or Divine. It is certain that many entertain these opinions. It is certain, also, that in times of distress and difficulty, these opinions, urged upon the people by any great demagogue, or by any person of power or influence among them, would take possession of their minds and sink deeply into their hearts; and if they had power, through their representatives, to give expression to those principles, they would do so speedily and emphatically.

Perhaps the most striking points in Lord Shaftesbury's speech were those in which he repudiated the notion that the Bill was a "Conservative" measure, and gave his opinion of "Conservative working men."

I have heard it said that the middle classes are not Conservative, but that if you go deeper, you get into a vein of gold, and encounter the presence of a highly Conservative feeling. In the first place, I ask is that so? And in the second place, what do you mean by the term Conservative? Do you mean to say that this large mass that they call the 'residuum,' of which, am I presumptuous if I say that, from various circumstances, few men living have more knowledge than I have, is conservative of your lordships' titles and estates?

Not a bit; they know little about them and care less. Will you venture to say that they are conservative of the interests of the Established Church? Certainly they are not. Thousands upon thousands living in this vast City of London, do not know the name of the parish in which they reside, nor the name of the minister in charge of it. They are, however, very conservative indeed of their own sense of right and wrong. They are living from hand to mouth, and, in consequence, they are very conservative of what they consider to be their own interests.

The peroration was unlike any other in all Lord Shaftesbury's speeches. It does not appear to have been prepared. He had pictured the future in gloomy colours—old England brought suddenly and roughly into collision with young England; ancient and venerable institutions to be tried, without notice or preparation, by poverty, levity, and ignorance; and by many who, being neither poor, nor vain, nor ignorant, were yet too full of hot blood, effervescing youth, and burning ambition, to be calm, dispassionate, and just. And then, in laughing sadness and with serious jest, he concluded:—

It is our duty to fight for our country into whatever hands the Government may fall. Whether monarchical, republican, or democratic, she will be England still; and let us beguile our fears by indulging our imagination, and by picturing to ourselves that which can never be realised—that out of this hecatomb of British traditions and British institutions, there will arise the great and glorious Phœnix of a Conservative Democracy! *

The following extract from the Diary refers to the effects produced by the speech:—

* Hansard, clxxxviii., p. 1917.

July 26th.—By God's especial mercy I have accomplished a difficult undertaking. I have succeeded in setting forth the dangers to be feared from the People; and yet I have spoken of them with such kindness and respect, as rather to have pleased than to have given offence. This was first set before me in a delightful letter from dear Evelyn, whose sympathy I love, and who, reading my speech far away from London, came of himself to this conclusion.

The speech having been very badly reported in some of the papers, it was issued verbatim as a pamphlet. In acknowledging the receipt of a copy, Earl Cairns successfully defended himself from the charge of having, in the debate, referred to certain arguments of Lord Shaftesbury's as "hobgoblin arguments," and enclosed an extract from Hansard to show that it was Lord Granville who had applied the term to something Lord Carnarvon had said. It was not easy to eradicate from the minds of others, the impression that the words were intended to apply to Lord Shaftesbury, as the following letter indicates:—

The Rt. Hon. Robert Lowe to Lord Shaftesbury.

34, Lowndes Square, S.W.,

November 12th, 1867.

My dear Lord Shaftesbury,—I am very much obliged to you for your noble speech, which delighted me not more from the commanding ability it displayed, than from the honesty and courage which led you to tell the exact truth about classes to whom you have devoted your life, and whom every one but you has combined to flatter with a fulsome hypocrisy. Cairns borrowed his 'hobgoblin argument' from Gibson, who took it from Cobden, who took it from Bentham. A nice Tory pedigree! At any rate, *he* is not afraid of

hobgoblins, for the ghosts of his two speeches must have confronted him and cried, 'Hold, hold!'

Believe me always, most truly yours,

ROBERT LOWE.

In 1861, in compliance with an Address to the Crown, moved by Lord Shaftesbury, a second Children's Employment Commission was appointed, and four voluminous reports were published, giving the result of an exhaustive inquiry into the employment of children and young persons in trade and manufactures not already regulated by law.

While that Commission was sitting, Lord Shaftesbury (in 1863) moved an Address to the Queen praying that the Commissioners should be directed to inquire into the system of "organised labour," known by the name of "Agricultural Gangs." The nature of that system we have already explained.*

He refers to his great triumph in obtaining "the first statutory recognition of the rights of the rural children to have equal educational privileges with the children of the towns," as follows:—

Aug. 17th.—By the two Bills about to receive the Royal assent, shall have closed thirty-four years of labour on behalf of the industrial classes of the country. The Agricultural Bill alone remains; and that one has received the affirmation of House of Lords; and so I may rejoice in the certainty of its becoming law in the ensuing session.

One of the two Bills referred to above was "For regulating the labour of juveniles in workshops," based

* See Vol. i., p. 10.

on the Factory Act promoted by Lord Shaftesbury thirty years before. By the new Act every branch of juvenile labour was brought under Government supervision for the first time.

It was found that the early age at which the children of the poor entered the labour-market, in London and other great cities, was a terrible and a growing evil; that they were required to do the work of men when their physical strength was only a little above that of infants; that in consequence they were stunted in growth, and warped by ignorance. It was found, too, that many of the workshops in which they were employed were mere laboratories of poison, ill-ventilated, ill-lighted, and often reeking with abominable odours; and worst of all, that these workshops were, in many instances, hotbeds of immorality.

The new Act forbad the hiring of children under eight years of age, and regulated the hours of labour of all under thirteen; it made provision for the education of all children under thirteen employed in workshops, and placed all workshops employing juvenile labour, under the provisions of the Sanitary Act of 1866. Thus the crowning stroke was given to the various efforts made, for many years past, to bring all the industrial occupations of the young and the defenceless, under the protection of the law.

Towards the end of 1866, Lord Shaftesbury was beset by increasing clamours for the laity to take some decisive action to check the progress of Ultra-Ritualism, and for him to head them. He asks:—

"But are they ready to be 'headed'? Are there any of zeal, truth, courage, consistency, in the cause? Are they not divided into partisans, sympathisers, indifferents, and cowards? Let us first be assured that the tide will not ebb more rapidly than it flowed, and leave us on the beach, like stranded seaweed."

Later in the year, although, in a letter to Mr. Haldane, he said he "would rather harangue a statue-gallery than speak on Protestantism to the British public," he entered in his Diary :—

Dec. 12th.—Wrote to-day to *Times* in support of S. G. O.* May God bless the effort! I shall, of course, call down storms of calumny and anathemas, but my hope is in Thee. The laity are all but lost. Hopeless though it may be, some one must endeavour to rouse them to a sense of the many perils that beset us. A certain number of the laity desire a movement; but they are divided among themselves, and, in fact, have no strong feelings and no fixed principles.

In the month of March, 1867, when, as yet, Ritual prosecutions were almost unknown, and when no decision had been given, by the Courts, on Clerical Vestments, Lord Shaftesbury brought forward in the House of Lords a Bill in which he sought, by a plain, direct enactment, to settle at least one portion of the wide question—that of the Ornaments Rubric.

As a matter of course, he met with stout opposition. The Bishops took in hand a Bill of their own, and determined to submit a measure to Parliament for the repression of excessive Ritualism; and, later on, applied to the Government for a Royal Commission. All this,

* Lord Sydney Godolphin Osborne.

however, was subsequent to the introduction of Lord Shaftesbury's Bill.

The legislation that he proposed was of a nature to which he could not imagine that any objection could be raised by the members of the Episcopal Bench, because it only proposed to make the 58th Canon, of 1603, part of the statute-law of the land; that Canon having been approved by the Convocations of Canterbury and York, and ratified by the Crown—a Canon that only incorporated a usage that existed anterior to 1603, and, ever since that period, had been obeyed by the bulk of the clergy.

The Canon to be embodied in the Bill required—

'That every minister saying the public prayers, or ministering the sacraments or other rites of the Church, shall wear a decent and comely surplice with sleeves, to be provided at the charge of the parish. And if any question arise touching the matter, decency, or comeliness thereof, the same shall be decided by the discretion of the ordinary. Furthermore, such ministers as are graduates shall wear upon their surplices, at such times, such hoods as, by the orders of the Universities, are agreeable to their degrees, which no minister shall wear, being no graduate, under pain of suspension. Notwithstanding, it shall be lawful for such ministers as are not graduates to wear upon their surplices, instead of hoods, some decent tippet of black, so it be not silk.'

On the 14th of May, Lord Shaftesbury, in moving the second reading of the Bill, traced the whole history of the Canon in question, and said that the object of his measure was simply to give statutory effect to the principle of that Canon which had had the effect of governing the system of the Establishment from 1604 to the

present time, and of seeing peace and harmony in the Church of England. It was true the Bill only touched one point, but that point was the only one upon which there was really any legal doubt. "I am censured for proceeding by law," he said, "Why, my lords, law, or fancied law, is the cause of the whole mischief, and by law alone it must be removed."

Having disposed of the legal aspects of the question, he inquired into the whole system on the brink of accepting which the Church was standing, and which, "if extended, might lead to the subversion of the Church of England itself, and bear along with it political evils tending to shake the existence of the empire." He quoted some startling extracts from "The Church and the World, or Essays upon the Questions of the Day;" "The Chronicle of Convocation;" and the "Directorium Anglicanum," to describe the various vestments, and the times and seasons at which they were to be worn; the advanced position of the Sacramental system; and the tendency to "subjugate all Christendom in body, soul, and spirit, to sacerdotal dominion."

He continued:—

. . . My Lords, I hold that this is essentially a question for the laity. I will never cease to proclaim that it is not for the bishop and the minister to settle between themselves the order of the service, or what vestments are to be worn, but that it is for the great mass of the congregation to determine whether they will go on in those usages which their fathers have practised for 300 years. It is not for the mere majority of the congregation to determine what changes shall be made, but for the congregation at large; and even then it must be done consistently with the law of the land.

The Bill was thrown out by 61 votes against 46, a result not unexpected, as the following extract from the Diary will show :—

May 9th.—Much time and trouble on Vestments Bill. It is right, and it is hopeless, to undertake this cause. There are many open, and more secret, sympathisers with the Ritualists; defeat is certain; success would not bring much, for the abomination is but a symptom of a deep and incurable disease, a disease quite unreachable by anything short of God's Spirit. . . .

May 15th.—Last night motion for second reading of Vestments Bill, and obtained, though defeated in the division, a wonderful success. It was a far greater triumph than if I had carried it. . . .

The Bill would certainly have been destroyed after a long, languid, and 'lowering' struggle. Meanwhile, the country would have gone to sleep. The very victory of the Government and the Archbishop, binds them to real and immediate activity.

The persons who have given me commendation, and courage in consequence, were those from whom I least expected it. Ellenborough, for instance, who is critical in the extreme.

A Royal Commission, to inquire into the practices of Ritualism generally, was appointed, and Lord Shaftesbury was invited to become one of the members. His reply was as follows :—

Lord Shaftesbury to the Right Hon. Spencer H. Walpole, M.P.

May 22nd, 1867.

My dear Mr. Walpole,—Be assured that I am very sensible of the honour you have done me in requesting me to become one of the members of the Ritual Commission.

But I venture to decline the office, because I feel satisfied that my presence in it would be most distasteful to the large body of men whose opinions and practices I have presumed to condemn, and would deprive the Commission, in their eyes at least, of the character of entire impartiality, should the decisions be of an adverse nature.

So strong are my sentiments, that I have a considerable misgiving as to my own unbiassed judgment. I told Lord Derby, as I now venture to repeat to you, that persons so prominent and so fixed as myself and the Bishop of Oxford, must certainly fail to inspire confidence that there will be fair play between the contending parties.

Very faithfully yours,

SHAFTESBURY.

The Bishop of Oxford did not regard the matter in the same light. He "did not consider himself an extreme man," and he therefore not only went on the Commission, but secured the services of others who, like himself, were "not extreme men." There were nineteen Commissioners in all, and immediately on their appointment a private Committee was formed from its members, consisting of Lord Beauchamp, the Bishop of Ely, Canon Gregory, the Right Hons. Sir R. Phillimore, J. G. Hubbard, A. J. Beresford-Hope, and the Rev. T. W. Perry.

Their Report, it is hardly necessary to say, was not satisfactory to the extreme Ritualists, and still less so to the Evangelicals; and upon Lord Shaftesbury devolved the task, as we shall see later on, of attempting further legislation.

On the 1st of April, 1867, the Paris International Exhibition was opened, and a few days later Lord Shaftesbury opened the Salle Évangélique in that city. M. Guizot was present, and in the course of his address said:—"When I entered the hall and saw the gathering, and remembered its purpose, I said to myself, 'This is

the greatest triumph of religious liberty in modern times.'"

There was very little rest in Paris for Lord Shaftesbury, as his time was taken up by "meetings, speeches, and 'a few words' to encourage French Protestants and stimulate sympathy." But he looked forward to repose abroad in the summer.

A change of scene, diet, life, tongue, and nature is necessary to produce repose. If in England, and specially if near London, there is, notwithstanding vacation-time, a blind, dull propensity to think of business, of letters, of things to be done, of preparations to be made, of gaps to be filled, and every occupation of the sort. One almost fancies that duties are left unfinished, that one's leisure is barely permissible. It is a fretting, uneasy state. Go abroad, and this ceases, because all is impossible.

The usual "change abroad" was not to be enjoyed that summer, however, the health of his daughter Constance rendering it impossible for him to leave home. He remained in England till the winter, and the following are some of the closing entries in the Diary for the year :—

Oct. 22nd.—St. Giles's. But some little good out of evil. Have been for three consecutive Sundays to special services in Theatres; to Victoria Theatre, to the St. George's in Langham Place, to the Pavilion. It is a great work, a good work, a deeply needful work, a work, too, though in the ninth series, well sustained. But what is it among so many? A thousand come in, and fifty thousand remain out, all seething with vice, profligacy, and violence. Yet we must persevere, and throw the Name and Word of Christ broadcast among them. Maintain the Church of England by all means. But we must not stand still in her buckram and coat of mail, and fight only according to the rules of fence. We must strike when, where, and

how we can; and look to the Gospel, and not to the method. The masses will never be won by these imposing churches and coldly classical preachers. . . . .

Revolution is led on as much by Conservatives as Radicals; they hope all things, promise all things, are elated with 'confidence in the people;' and vow that they never doubted the necessity, right, duty, and safety of an extreme Reform.

Oct. 24th.—London. Attended funeral, this morning, of my poor old friend, Sir James South. Many the interesting and profitable hours I have passed in his Observatory. He was well 'stricken in years.' There is another gone of the few who, I believe, were sincerely and warmly attached to me.

Dec. 8th.—Busy in founding Society for giving Dinners to Destitute Children. Met at Canon Conway's.

Dec. 19th.—Villa Liserb, Cimiés, Nice. Passed one whole day in Paris that Conty might have repose, and went at head of deputation to St. Cloud, to thank the Emperor for his protection to the Bible Society and to religious liberty in general at the Great Exhibition. Very well received, the Emperor having most graciously advanced the day to suit my convenience.

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CHAPTER XXX.

1868—1869.

The Opening of Parliament—Urged to bring forward Ecclesiastical Courts Bill—Mr. Disraeli, Prime Minister—Debate on Disestablishment of Irish Church—May Meetings—Publication of "Speeches, 1838-1867"—Report of Ritual Commission—Uniformity of Public Worship Bill—Winthrop and Longfellow—Statue to Lord Palmerston—Death of Duchess of Sutherland—Letter from Mr. Robert Lowe—Letter to Mr. Gladstone—Sir Moses Montefiore—Special Diaries on Movements of the Times—The Power of the Press—Review of State of Society—Fear of Debt—Self-imposed Tasks—Ecclesiastical Courts Bill—Objects sought to be obtained—An Old Friend in the Almswalk—Uncovering Oastler's Statue—Ovation at Bradford—Houses and Glebes to Roman Catholic Priests—Debate on Irish Church Bill—Death of Lady Palmerston—The Political Horizon—Lord Ashley's Son and Heir—Professor Seeley—Dr. Temple and the Bishopric of Exeter—Intolerance of Evangelicals—Religious Controversy—Report on St. Giles's Estate by Government Commissioner.

When Parliament reassembled on the 13th of February, Lord Shaftesbury was still at Nice. This, over a course of Parliamentary life extending to nearly forty years, was only the second instance in which he had not been present at the opening; the first occasion being when he was detained in Nice, in 1833, in consequence of the illness of a relative,* and this year, when once more detained in the same place through the continued illness of his daughter, and his own indisposition. "I should greatly prefer," he said, "the gloom and cold of

* Lady Fanny Cowper, afterwards Lady Jocelyn.

London, with my accustomed duties, to the brightness and warmth of this place without them."

His heart was still in his work, and his thoughts were busy with new schemes. His friend Mr. A. J. Stephens, the great ecclesiastical lawyer, with Mr. Haldane's concurrence, had suggested to him the introduction of an "Ecclesiastical Courts Bill," and he wrote to Mr. Haldane:—

You must reflect again and again, you and Stephens, on the advice you give me. Surely it would be impolitic, and almost impossible, for a private member to introduce a Bill on so wide and deep a subject as the Ecclesiastical Courts.

Such measures as these must be put forward on the authority, and with the responsibility, of a Government. . . . I should be left at the mercy of law lords, bishops, ritualistic peers, and a hostile Cabinet, to fight the battle alone.

The thing, if undertaken, must be preceded by a Commission. Such a motion could hardly be denied; certainly it could not be gainsaid.

Some weeks later he wrote:—

I shall be ready to do all that in me lies to bring forward Ecclesiastical matters—not, however, in any spirit of hope that success will follow, nor in any very fervent desire to prolong the existence of the Establishment as it now is.

On the 25th of February, the Earl of Derby resigned the Premiership, and Mr. Disraeli reigned in his stead.

March 5th.—D'Israeli, Prime Minister! He is a Hebrew; this is a good thing. He is a man sprung from an inferior station; another good thing in these days, as showing the liberality of our institutions. 'But he is a leper,' without principle, without feeling, without regard to anything, human or divine, beyond his own personal ambition. He has dragged, and he will continue to drag,

everything that is good, safe, venerable, and solid through the dust and dirt of his own objects.

The debate on Mr. Maguire's motion for an inquiry into the condition of Ireland, and the debate introduced by Mr. Gladstone on the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, were followed by Lord Shaftesbury with painful interest.

Referring to the former, in a letter to Mr. Haldane, he says :—

NICE, *March 17th*, 1868.

The Irish debate . . . seems to me the quintessence of sparkling feebleness. It is a triumph of words and sentences over truthfulness and meaning. Because things have been well said, they are assumed to have been well conceived. Sound is taken for sense, and declamation for principle.

Cairns will become a regular boxer. The Lord Chancellor, stripped to the middle, and squaring at everybody, will make the House of Lords a place of public resort. He is too good a man for this department of political work. I love to hear him standing up for great truths ; but I have no sympathy with him as the apologist of Haman the Agagite.

The following note on the Irish Church debate, is taken from the Diary :—

March 30th.—Yesterday evening Gladstone moved, in House of Commons, the abolition of the Irish Church. It is for England the most serious day since the Reformation. It is either the service of God, or the service of Satan. He may be opening the way to such a revival of Papal power as may make the most scoffing to tremble. He may be preparing such a career for the Protestant belief as may make the Roman Catholics curse the day in which he was born.

However, Gladstone himself has none of these grandiose views for good or for evil.

At the end of April, Lord Shaftesbury was again in London, and in the few brief intervals of the "May Meetings" was busy in preparing for publication the work to which we have been greatly indebted in these volumes: "Speeches of the Earl of Shaftesbury (1838—1867) upon Subjects having relation chiefly to the Claims and Interests of the Labouring Classes. With a Preface."

He refers to it thus:—

> May 5th.—Have I done wisely? I fear not. Have I consulted my own fame? I fear not. Have I regarded my own comfort? I fear not. I have been induced, by Forster, to collect and publish a selection of my speeches, with a preface, on subjects relating to Labour and large masses of people. I trust in God, who knows the intention, to bless the work. I foresee and forehear the comments. Then why did I do it? because I was persuaded by the ardent kindness of Forster and others.

The volume is remarkable for the variety of its subjects, the high and holy principles enunciated, the abundance of interesting and varied information, the chasteness of its literary style and the quality of its eloquence. Lord Shaftesbury does not record his gratification on reading the reviews of his book—but that he must have felt gratified, no one will doubt.

Upon the report of the Ritual Commission being issued, Lord Shaftesbury, availing himself, in some measure, of its recommendations, prepared and laid upon the table of the House of Lords the "Uniformity of Public Worship Bill." It relates to Ornaments as well as to Vestments, and met, from the first, with strong opposition:—

May 16th.—Fiercely attacked here last night by the Lords Salisbury and Lyttleton, because I pointed out the danger to the Church from Ritualism. Their language was joyfully received by the Government side of the House. I was well defended by Taunton, Ebury, and even Lord Overstone. These two Tractarian Lords did their best and ran through Puritans, Barebones, and 'Fee, fo, fum.'

The second reading of the Bill was defeated in July without a division.

The following extracts from the Diary on various subjects will point the current of events :—

July 3rd.—On Wednesday met Winthrop, once Speaker of Congress in U.S., and the Poet Longfellow, at dinner in Forster's house. Amazingly pleased with both of them.

July 11th.—The Waters affair at an end; and let me bless God for it. And well concluded, too, in one aspect, for Mr. W.'s counsel admitted in open court that 'Mr. Waters was deeply grateful to Lord Shaftesbury' for what had been done in the way of forbearance.

July 23rd.—To Broadlands on 20th for inauguration of statue to Palmerston on 21st. It went off well, both at the mansion and in the market-place. Granville did his work admirably; and so did Lowe. The Bishop had a difficult task in the sermon, but he made a masterly affair of it. There was afterwards a 'cold collation' and speechifying under a tent, where W. Cowper, Argyll, and Cardwell sustained the ceremony very efficiently. I was forced myself to utter a few words; I spoke what I felt, and felt what I spoke.

Aug. 20th.—Homburg. His Majesty the King of Prussia called on us to-day. He was singularly kind and civil, looked in strong health, and created a vivid feeling in his behalf. The Government is a compound of timidity and recklessness. D'Izzy is seeking everywhere for support. He is all things to all men and nothing to any one. He cannot make up his mind whether to be Evangelical Neologian, or Ritualistic; he is waiting for the highest bidder.

Oct. 28th.—In the paper of this morning, is announced the long-expected death of my true, dear, and constant friend, Duchess

Harriet of Sutherland. In the year 1820 I first knew her; and, ever since, she has been to me in heart, in temper, in demeanour, the most uniformly kind, considerate, and zealous ally and co-operator that ever lived. Such unbroken, such invariable, such thoughtful and sincere affection few have enjoyed. At the end of forty-seven years of acquaintance she was the same as at the beginning. She was ever ready to give her palaces, her presence, and her ardent efforts for the promotion of everything that was generous and compassionate and good. There was no pride, no meanness; her courtesy was not conventional, it was courtesy of feeling, of innate dignity, of a natural regard for the social and moral rights of others. I trust that my beloved friend has gone to her rest, there to meet my other friend, so precious to me, Harriet Ellesmere.

Archbishop Longley is also gone: a mild, amiable, and lovable man, but unstable as water. What a space my knowledge of him covers! He was a tutor at Christ Church when I went up as a freshman.

In reply to a letter from Lord Shaftesbury, congratulating Mr. Lowe on being elected the first member for the University of London without opposition, the following letter was received:—

The Right Hon. Robert Lowe to Lord Shaftesbury.

34, LOWNDES SQUARE, S.W.,

November, 1868.

MY DEAR LORD SHAFTESBURY,—I am very much obliged to you for your kind congratulations. What is happening around us shows only too clearly how easy it would have been to resist the Reform Movement in 1866. One-half the energy now wasted on a lost cause would have done it. The men, for fear of whom the Constitution was basely abandoned, cannot find seats in the most Radical places, and the losses of the towns are as clearly as possible traceable to the changes made in the Borough Franchise and representation by their own Bill.

I draw no comfort from these elections. Money has, as I predicted,

been omnipotent. But we are gradually awaking the sleeping tiger, and the transference of power to the numerical majority is only a question of time, and not very long time.

My plan about the House of Lords was to say, that every one who has been for two years a Secretary of State, a judge, a diplomatist at certain courts, and so on, should, without being made a Peer, or without losing the power of being elected to the House of Commons, have a seat in the House of Lords.

If the thing worked well, I should like to extend it to lower offices; perhaps to all political offices which are held by a Privy Councillor.

Good men would not like to be Peers for life. I have no prejudice about the name of Senator.

I should like to allow Peers to sit in the House of Commons.

Always most truly yours,

ROBERT LOWE.

Reviewing his own position in relation to the changes being made in all things around, Lord Shaftesbury wrote:—

Nov. 7th.—What is my position now? It is like an old tree in a forest, half-submerged by a mighty flood: I remain where I was, while everything is passing beyond me. New ideas, new thoughts, new views, and new feelings are flowing rapidly by. I cannot go along with the stream, and if I survive, one of two issues awaits me: either I shall be overwhelmed and so, utterly lost, or the waters in their course will have rushed away and left me alone, stranded and leafless, a venerable proof of consistency, as some would say, but of bigotry in the estimation of others.

Dec. 5th.—Government out. Gladstone sent for! 'Le roi est mort, vive le roi!'

To Mr. Gladstone, the new Premier, Lord Shaftesbury preferred a similar request to one that he had

made without effect to Mr. Disraeli when he was Prime Minister. It was as follows :—

Lord Shaftesbury to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

Dec. 22nd, 1868.

DEAR GLADSTONE,—The new arrangements you have made in respect of certain young Peers in the House of Lords will prove, I doubt not, very beneficial.

But I have an impulse, which I cannot restrain, an impulse both from opinion and feeling, to suggest another movement; and I make it far less in the presumption of tendering advice, than of disburdening myself of a strong desire. The Jewish question has now been settled. The Jews can sit in both Houses of Parliament. I, myself, resisted their admission, not because I was adverse to the descendants of Abraham, of whom our Blessed Lord came according to the flesh; very far from it, but because I objected to the mode in which that admission was to be effected.

All that is passed away, and let us now avail ourselves of the opportunity to show regard to God's ancient people. There is a noble member of the House of Israel, Sir Moses Montefiore, a man dignified by patriotism, charity, and self-sacrifice, on whom her Majesty might graciously bestow the honours of the Peerage.

It would be a glorious day for the House of Lords when that grand old Hebrew were enrolled on the lists of the hereditary legislators of England.

Truly yours,

SHAFTESBURY.

Mr. Disraeli had replied in a "gushing" letter, expressing his great willingness to do anything, but stating that he was, for obvious reasons, less than any other Prime Minister in a position to grant the request. Mr. Gladstone replied that the case should be "carefully considered," and made inquiry as to what Sir Moses Montefiore's fortune was supposed to be, and whether

he had children, but there he allowed the matter to rest. It was a great disappointment to Lord Shaftesbury, who had the highest admiration of the character of the great Hebrew philanthropist. The admiration was mutual, and lasted to the end of their lives. On one occasion Sir Moses sent to Lord Shaftesbury a cheque for £95, to be used for the Field Lane Ragged School, or any other purpose he might think proper. It seems a curious amount. It was sent on the day that his wife would, had she lived, have attained her 95th year.

The last letter he ever received from Sir Moses Montefiore, was written with his own hand in his 100th year, and was as follows :—

Sir Moses Montefiore to Lord Shaftesbury.

EAST CLIFF LODGE, RAMSGATE,
July 9, 1884.

MY DEAR LORD SHAFTESBURY,—Your able appeal, in this day's *Times*, on behalf of the fund to provide the means of giving the poor children of the Ragged Schools a day's enjoyment in the country, has this moment been read to me, and, sympathising as I do with this desirable object, I enclose, with very much pleasure, cheque for £15, with the hope that the appeal may be both liberally and cheerfully responded to.

Believe me, my dear Lord Shaftesbury, that I am delighted with the opportunity thus afforded me of evincing my heartfelt appreciation of the noble and benevolent works in which you have for a very long period taken so beneficent an interest. May God bless you and prosper your labours!

Hoping you are in the enjoyment of good health,

I am, my dear Lord Shaftesbury,
Very truly yours,
MOSES MONTEFIORE.

Lord Shaftesbury sent the letter and cheque to Mr. Kirk, the Secretary of the Ragged School Union, with the following note :—

July 12, 1884.

DEAR KIRK,—You may keep the letter as a record of a man in his 100th year who can feel and write like one of five-and-twenty. Do not suppose that I have omitted to thank him. That grand old Hebrew is better than many Christians.

Yours, S.

In 1867, 1868, and 1869, Lord Shaftesbury wrote, in special Diaries, his opinions on the movements of the times and their ultimate issues. They are more in the form of essays than of diary notes, and appear to have been written for the purpose of fixing his impressions at certain important periods in the national history.

They are far too voluminous to quote from extensively, and the subjects are wide and various. In the volume for 1867, for example, the topics discussed are: Church parties, Commerce, Trades Unions, Foreign Affairs, Fenianism, Public Revenue, British Industries, the Navy, Law and Justice, Mercantile Morality, Politicians, Democracy, the Social System, Hereditary Honours, Religious Creeds.

Isolated passages give but a poor notion of these reviews, which require to be read as a whole. We have, however, only space for one or two brief extracts from the Diary of 1868. The first relates to the power of the press :—

It is curious and instructive to observe what a prodigious effect newspapers and magazines, but newspapers more especially, have

produced on the social and political condition of England already; and how much more, aided by the penny press, the penny post, and the cheapness of works beautifully illustrated, they will produce in the future. They have diffused an amount of knowledge, both in interest and variety, that never would have been effected by any other system. Thousands that would never open a book, will read through a newspaper everything of gossip and wisdom, 'of grave and gay,' 'of lively and severe.' They are written, oftentimes, with surpassing ability, in matters of politics, literature, history, and science. Their reviews spare the trouble of research, and their leading articles the trouble of thinking. Hence a mass of information is acquired, alike abundant and superficial. In society, in clubs, and even in Parliament, the shallowest men show fairly in presence of the deepest; nay, not unfrequently better. Any superiority is grudgingly acknowledged; a notion of equal fitness prevails; and hence it is that, in the construction of a Government (and this I have heard from various 'First Lords'), it is far easier to find twenty Secretaries of State than one junior Lord of the Admiralty.

In reviewing the state of society, he says:—

It is observable that our social system will be greatly, though seriously, affected by the growing notion of equality, but still more by the demeanour and doings of those whose birth has placed them on an eminence before the eyes of the world. Not a few, though by far the minority, of the aristocracy, 'play such pranks before high Heaven' in domestic life, on the turf, and at the gambling-table, as to make many sorrowfully admit, and many joyfully hail, the arguments against hereditary rank, hereditary property, hereditary legislation. These all lead to political changes; for it is not in the power of the hundred who are pure, to avert from their class the odium that arises from the five that are not so. We have had, no doubt, such things, and perhaps worse, in former days; but we had not then a penny post and a penny press, an electric telegraph and diffused education, and a fierce republican spirit, and millions of eyes to behold, and millions of ears to hear, and millions of spirits to devour with eagerness, the gossip, the malevolence, the truth, the falsehood, that thousands of hungry, rabid '*petits gens de lettres, mauvaise* race'

(as Talleyrand called them) are ever ready to supply in such rich and varied abundance.

In February, 1869, the continued illness of his daughter Constance, rendered it necessary that she should seek a warmer climate, and her departure to Cannes, with Lady Shaftesbury, was a heavy trial.

February 11th.—Minny and Conty started to-day. Accompanied them to Dover. Oh that God, in His mercy and goodness, for Christ's dear sake, may protect and bless them, bear them safely to their journey's end, prosper to them the sun and the climate of Cannes, and restore us sound and happy to each other! It is a sad, sad, and anxious separation; but the ways of the Almighty are wise, deep, and inscrutable. . . .

In addition to the heavy losses Lord Shaftesbury had sustained from his steward, he had incurred enormous expenses—amounting to some thousands of pounds—in inevitable law-suits, civil and criminal, and the combination of circumstances against him produced so much anxiety that he felt incapable of exercising any prolonged energy. The dread of debt was "a horror of great darkness" before him. "If I appear to fail in life and vigour, it is not for the want of zeal," he wrote to a friend, "but from that kind of Promethean eagle that is ever gnawing my vitals. May God be with you, and keep you *out of debt.*" And in his Diary, among many expressions of sadness and almost despair, he writes:—"Our Blessed Lord endured all the sorrows of humanity but that of *debt.* Perhaps it was to exemplify the truth, uttered afterwards by St. Paul,

'Owe no man anything, but to serve him in the Lord.'"

The subject was ever in his thoughts, it was "a dead weight on his back which made him totter in every effort to go forward"; it haunted him night and day, and often, in his Diary, he breaks out into a wail of lamentation: "My mind returns at every instant to the *modus operandi*. How meet the demands that must speedily be made? how satisfy the fair and righteous claims of those who only ask for their dues? How can I pursue the many objects I have in view, with this anxiety at my heart? God alone can deliver me."

Depressed and sorrowful as he was, he did not for an hour let the duties of life, or any of his self-imposed tasks, pass unfulfilled, and the Diaries are full of entries similar to the following:—

Feb. 23rd.—On Saturday, to Lambeth Baths to distribute prizes to working men. Sunday, to Britannia Theatre (Special Service), Hoxton. Excellent, satisfactory, heart-stirring—I receive perpetual testimony from the poorer classes of the benefit conferred by them. It seems, occasionally, a wearisome journey to undertake on dark and rainy nights, to the East of London; but I ever rejoice when there—all is earnest, pious, simple, and consolatory. The careworn faces, especially of the women, become almost radiant with comfort.

March 6th.—Debate in House of Lords on Criminal Bill. I met, as usual, from the Public, with a mixture of praise and contempt. A great majority of mankind assume that if a man be stamped as a 'Philanthropist' he cannot have common sense. They hold that it betokens a softening of the brain! Alas, poor Yorick!

Last night, at Wellclose Square, went to a gathering of thirty thieves. What a spectacle! what misery! what degradation! and, yet, I question whether we, fine, easy, comfortable folks, are not greater sinners in the sight of God than are these poor wretches. . . .

It was when domestic anxiety, financial difficulty, and failing health were oppressing him, that the time came for him to commence that herculean task he had, contrary to his own judgment, undertaken—the attempted reform of the procedure in the Ecclesiastical Courts. "I shrink, though I will not recede, from it," he said; and, accordingly, he made preparations for the work which, happily for him he could not at the moment foresee, was to occupy years of ceaseless anxiety, vexation, and toil, and to end more in disappointment than success.

March 17th.—Oh, that I could either get rid of my Ecclesiastical Courts Bill altogether, or be discharged of the Second Reading! Never again will I interfere in Church matters. All establishments are doomed, and perhaps wisely. They have done good in their day, but the people will not consent any longer to receive good after that fashion. Now, let us think of nothing but the pure Church of Christ. Could I do any service by further persistence in anti-ritualistic legislation, I would endure any amount of toil and obloquy; but why, for no issue except abuse, vexation, and fruitless labour, renew a career of public abomination and private contempt?

April 3rd.—This Ecclesiastical Courts Bill has excited more attention than the subject ever did before—and yet I wish I had never undertaken it. The Bill is very long, somewhat intricate, and upon a subject with which I am not at all conversant. I shall be opposed by all the bishops, who are masters of the question, and who, secretly, abhor the measure as touching their dignity and their patronage. The labour is very great, the anxiety also; and, probably, the fruit will be 'nil,' as the Bill will go to a Select Committee, where, I, being alone, without a single friend, shall find myself in the hands of bishops, lawyers, and peers, who hate me and love the abuses. But, God helping me, I shall at any rate exhibit the evils. Nevertheless, I wish it were over and settled, for never again will I touch so hopeless, so thankless, so fruitless a work, as the reform of Church abominations. . . .

As the day approached for Lord Shaftesbury to bring forward his Bill in the House of Lords, his anxiety—which had produced perpetual headache—increased. It absorbed every moment of his leisure. "For months," he said, "I have not been beyond the Duke of Wellington's statue." Up to the very hour that he left his home to go to the House of Lords, he was full of misgiving, and the last entry in his book is, "Why have I been so foolish as to undertake this Bill? If I fail, I become ridiculous; if I succeed, I shall have done no good."

On the 15th of May, he moved the Second Reading of the Bill before a House, "cold, hostile, and resolved to maintain anything provided it were Episcopal." He had to deal with a subject "inexpressibly dry and wearisome"—so repulsive that it had "occupied and thwarted many eminent men during the course of more than three centuries."

The interest in this, and many kindred measures, has now to a very great extent passed away, and it would only weary the reader to enter, at length, into the whole question of the proposed reform of the Ecclesiastical Courts. It will be enough to say here that the objects sought to be obtained by the Bill in question were:—

1.—To cheapen and expedite the mode of procedure.
2.—To provide one Superior Judge for the two Provincial Courts of Appeal.
3.—To appoint proper Judges for the Diocesan Courts.

4.—To provide Juries to try issues of fact.

5.—To admit Solicitors to practise on a like footing with Proctors.

6.—To retain to the Clergy what the legal language has termed their rights of provocation and recusation.

7.—To retain to the Laity their right to promote the Judge's office, apparently taken away by the Church Discipline Act of 1840.

8.—To provide safe and proper registries, and place the duties and emoluments of the Registrars on an improved footing.

May 15th, 11 *o'clock*.—The motion is over. I bless God it was accomplished without shame and exposure. I made no mistakes, and fell into no forgetfulness. This is nearly as much as I dared to wish, and certainly more than I deserve. . . .

I have now, thank God, closed my Ecclesiastical career; nothing shall again stir me to move Bills in defence of the Establishment. The Bill was sent to a Select Committee, where I shall not have a friend. It is, of course, according to the modern system, 'a private execution.' . . .

It would have saved Lord Shaftesbury years of anxious and fruitless toil if this decision had been adhered to. Unfortunately, he was over-persuaded by friends to return to the charge, and, as we shall see, within a twelvemonth he was again in the thick of the fight.

We shall now follow, for awhile, the more quiet current of his routine and private life.

April 27th.—Such continued occupation, no time for entries. Minny and Conty returned on Thursday, 22nd, quite safe.

Heard this morning of the death of Mary Joy, my old dear

friend,* in the Almswalk at St. Giles's. This aged saint must have attained her ninety-second year; and was, by God's blessing, neither blind nor deaf, nor wandering. In spirit she was like Anna, and 'departed not from the Temple, but ever waited for the consolation of Israel. She had it while living; she has it in perfection, now that she is dead, for she had realised the hopes of St. Paul, and knew 'nothing but Jesus Christ, and Him crucified.' Shall I recognise St. Giles's without her? I trow not.

July 11th.—No end of chairs, speeches, committees. I cannot number them; they are like the sands of the sea; and shall I say equally incohesive and unprofitable? Be it so; God give me the consolation to feel His words, 'because it was in thine heart, to build a temple unto the Lord; thou didst well, that it was in thine heart.' . . .

May 15th.—Bradford, Yorkshire. Here to uncover Oastler's monument. It is a week of speeches, addresses, &c.

May 21st.—St. Giles's. Hardly a second of time at command to make entries while in Yorkshire; can I now collect a Diary? On Friday, a large dinner of Bradford notables at Mr. Semon's, very agreeable. On Saturday, an address to me in Peel Park, and a procession of some 30,000 people. Reached the statue at half-past three. The uncovering, and a short speech. The throng was immense; the estimate was of nearly 100,000; and I do not think that it was exaggerated. Their enthusiasm knew no bounds.

Then a dinner at the Victoria Hotel, given by the Mayor, a most agreeable, gentlemanlike man, Mr. West. Afterwards, at eight o'clock, a public meeting in St. George's Hall, and speech, of course. On Sunday to parish church. Then at three o'clock to Sunday School at Manningham to see large numbers of teachers and factory children, and speak to them. On Monday, to inspect hospital and charities, and at 12.40 to London, where I arrived by God's blessing safe and sound.

During the debates in the House of Lords on the Irish Church Bill, Lord Shaftesbury on several occasions was anxious to take a part. He was suffering,

* She was a labourer's widow living in the Almshouses founded by Sir Anthony Ashley.

however, from unusual depression, and other circumstances were against him.

June 24th.—Have given notice of an amendment to devote surplus (secularisation having been decided) to a fund for small loans at moderate interest to labouring population of Ireland. It will be opposed by Popish hierarchy and priesthood, because they want the whole surplus for themselves; by the Conservatives (and probably by the Government for the same reason, though not avowedly), because they want it for 'levelling up,' and by the landlords, because they wish cheap labour—yet it will be a blessing to the people.

I should like one of my last speeches (if it be not the last) to be in aid of that wronged and insulted people—wronged, I mean, by our ancestors. . . .

July 3rd.—Bill has been in Committee, on Tuesday, Thursday, Friday. Prepared some thoughts on Duke of Cleveland's proposition to give houses and glebes to Roman Catholic priests. Had, however, no good opportunity to come forward, and doubt much whether I should have had courage enough to rise—unpleasant beyond description in the House of Lords, when rival speakers get up, and struggle to be heard. No one, as in the House of Commons, has power to decide. The matter is settled by roars of preference for one peer or the other. It was so last night. I could not expose myself to it. Voted against the clause. . . .

July 5th.—I am so nervous, distressed, and downcast, that I almost wish him (Lord Cairns) success, that I may be spared the necessity of introducing my clause. Never have I, in all my life, had a period of doubt, darkness, and discouragement so long upon me.

July 7th.—Lord Cairns, by a successful motion to postpone 68th Clause of the Irish Bill, submerged my amendment. So much for all the trouble and anxiety I have had on that matter. . . .

July 24th.—Granville, throughout the whole Irish debates, has shown remarkable judgment, ability, good temper, and good taste. Cairns, in this last affair, has come out with singular claims to solid wisdom, penetration, and deliberate courage. . . .

At the end of August, Lord and Lady Shaftesbury and their three daughters arrived at Homburg. They

had not been there a fortnight, however, before a letter was received giving an unsatisfactory account of the health of Lady Palmerston. Next day there followed an alarming telegram, and preparations were made for Lady Shaftesbury to return immediately, and Lord Shaftesbury to follow more slowly with his invalid daughter and the rest of the party. On the eve of his departure he received a further telegram: "Sinking; no hope," and he wrote in his Diary:—

Poor, dear, kind Mum. How can I ever forget—nay, how can I ever *fully* remember—all her unbroken, invariable, tender, considerate goodness towards me? Turn her very inmost heart unto Thyself, O God, for Christ's blessed sake! . . .

There were delays in the journey. A fierce gale prevented them from making the passage of the Channel. Meanwhile Lady Palmerston had passed away, and the travellers only reached England in time to be present at the funeral.

September 22nd.—The funeral was simple, but solemn, and very sad. The dear woman was carried to Westminster Abbey, there to lie alongside her husband, whom she so truly and ardently loved, and whom she had so greatly aided in his long career. Until I had lost her I hardly knew how much I loved her. To my dying hour I shall remember her perpetual sunshine of expression and affectionate grace, the outward sign of inward sincerity, of kindness, generosity, and love. Her pleasure was to see others pleased, and without art, or effort, or even intention, she fascinated every one who came within her influence. Forty years have I been her son-in-law, and during all that long time she has been to me a well-spring of tender friendship and affectionate service.

September 24th.—Few great men, and no women, except those who have sat on thrones, have received, after death, such abundant and such sincere testimonies of admiration, respect, and affection.

The press has teemed with articles descriptive of her life and character, all radiant with feeling, and expressive of real sorrow; none surpassed the *Times* in delineation and eulogy. It was written by Hayward, and it is a record worthy of her.

While Lord Shaftesbury was at Homburg enjoying "the wonderful air, which seems to breathe strength and refreshment at every moment," he indulged, in leisure moments, in his favourite recreation of fixing in writing his impressions of the "times then present," and forecasts of political history. We append one short quotation only, a very remarkable one when viewed in the light of subsequent events :—

. . . The people, as Bright remarked to me one evening, '*have no reverence.*' He is right; they had it once, but they have it no longer. They have no reverence for men, or things, past or present. They estimate everything by its power of instrumentality for their purposes. . . .

A vague, undefined sentiment exists that some kind of convulsion is at hand. If asked to explain what is meant, a difficulty arises. Nevertheless, the instinct of it remains, and people continue confused without being comforted. That England has culminated, few can doubt who examine her internal condition and the condition of the nations around her, as well as of the United States. Within, she is shaken to her very foundations of moral, religious, and commercial power. The political is no safer. Without, we must see countries extending in arts and arms, in enterprise and wealth, in skill, industry, and freedom, which are rapidly abating her pre-eminence and reducing her in the scale of nations. England must either be very great or very small—either so great as to defy the world, or so small as not to excite its envy and hostility.

There are some, perhaps (and probably Gladstone and Bright are among them), who would deny that any evil could arise from the severance of England and Ireland. It is difficult to believe that any one could entertain such an opinion, however he might assert it.

We shall soon have the attempt, and possibly not very remotely, the event; and the experience will give us results that cannot be gainsaid.

There was joy in St. Giles's House and in St. Giles's village in the autumn of this year, in which no one shared more heartily than Lord Shaftesbury. He refers to it, in a letter to Mr. Haldane, thus:—

My little village is all agog with the birth of a 'son and heir' in the very midst of them, the first, it is believed, since about 1600, when the first Lord Shaftesbury was born. The christening yesterday was an ovation. Every cottage had flags and flowers; we had three triumphal arches, and all the people were exulting. 'He is one of us'—'He is a fellow-villager'—'We have now got a lord of our own.' The tenants too, and clergy, have, in grand consultation, resolved to present a piece of plate as an heirloom.

This is really gratifying; I did not think that there remained so much of the old respect and affection between peasant and proprietor, landlord and tenant. But it is the last trace of that grand feeling.

The presentation was made shortly afterwards:—

"Nov. 29th.— . . . The tenantry of this estate gave to Antony a piece of plate, and a dinner (at which I attended, Nov. 25), in honour of his son and heir. It was hearty, affectionate, and liberal; I doubt whether, in many counties, there would now be found such a feeling between the owner and the occupiers of the land. Much is due to Antony, who has lived among them, and made himself deservedly popular.

The appointment of Professor Seeley, the author of "Ecce Homo," to the Professorship of Modern History at Cambridge, and the elevation of Dr. Temple, one of the writers of the "Essays and Reviews," to the See of Exeter, were events that called forth a storm of indignation in certain quarters. On the first issue of

"Essays and Reviews," 12,000 of the clergy uttered a protest. Not 1,200 were willing to come forward in 1869 to protest against the appointment of Dr. Temple; and if a work similar to "Essays and Reviews" were to be published to-day, it is probable that not 120 would be found to protest against it—so rapid and so radical has been the change of religious opinion. Nevertheless, there was a great stir over Dr. Temple's appointment; and as Lord Shaftesbury was looked to as the prime mover on all such occasions, he was besieged by angry disputants, and, as often happens to acknowledged leaders of men, he held his position in the front simply because there was no other position possible to him. Dr. Pusey urged him to stand forth as the representative of religious opinion generally; others of the High Church party urged him to take joint action with them on a Committee; and the result was his acceptance of the Presidency of the Committee, with Dr. Pusey as Vice-President. The Evangelical party stood somewhat aloof. Their attitude is thus described by Lord Shaftesbury:—

Oct. 23.—. . . This Temple affair has revealed many things. It has revealed the utter indifference of the country at large; the coldness and insincerity of the bulk of the Evangelicals, their disunion, their separation in place and action. It has shown that they have much political, and personal, and very little spiritual Protestantism. They dislike the appointment because Gladstone made it, and they would not oppose it lest they should be found in concurrence with Pusey. . . . It has revealed, too, their utter intolerance. The words, the just, true words I wrote in praise of Pusey for that marvellous essay on Daniel, which he could not have composed but by the special Grace of God, have condemned me for ever in their

esteem; and I doubt whether, were the vote taken by ballot, they would not pronounce that I was by far the more detestable of the two. . . . .

This was not a sentiment written down in the heat of the moment; it is repeated again and again in the Diaries of Lord Shaftesbury. Sixteen years afterwards he said to the writer, "Although, as you know, I stand fast by the teaching of the Evangelicals, I do not hesitate to say that I have received, from the hands of that party, treatment that I have not received from any other. High Churchmen, Roman Catholics, even infidels have been friendly to me; my only enemies have been the Evangelicals."

The following letter, written when the controversy was at its height, will show Lord Shaftesbury's own personal views with regard to the attack upon Dr. Temple's appointment, and also why he had come to regard the Evangelical party, as he says, as "simply a theological expression." At the request of the Church Association, although contrary to his own judgment, he had presented to the Prime Minister a memorial remonstrating on the appointment. The first paragraph in the letter is in allusion to this:—

Lord Shaftesbury to Mr. Haldane.

November 2nd, 1869.

DEAR HALDANE,—I have not, as yet, had any, even official, acknowledgment from Gladstone of the receipt of the memorial. I must wait a day or two longer.

The position of religious parties is original and distressing. The rash, unsustained attack on Dr. Temple, going so far beyond what could be proved (though not beyond what might be believed), has

given Gladstone a fund of power to make what appointments he pleases; and it has equally taken from the Evangelicals a power of resistance. They stand simply naked, weak, and beneath consideration.

Here, for instance, are three Deans, all eminent in the party! The Dean of Gloucester joins Pusey and protests against Temple.

The Dean of Ripon protests against Temple and Pusey; and the Dean of Exeter joins Temple, and protests against every one who differs from him.

Who is to lead a regiment like that? Even Falstaff would not march through Coventry with them. . . .

They would soon throw me over, and 'pity the sorrows of a poor old man.'

The movement against Temple, so rash, violent, undignified, and abortive, has done irreparable mischief to men and things.

S.

One disappointment of the year, that distressed Lord Shaftesbury, is referred to in the entry given below. Ever since he succeeded to the title, he had not spared time, trouble, or expense to improve the condition of the labourers on his estate, by erecting suitable cottages, and by giving them continuous work and better wages. This had been done at great personal sacrifice; but it was a principle with him to strive to roll away, at least as far as he was concerned, the reproach that had, not altogether unjustly, been brought against the Dorsetshire landlords:—

November 29th.—I am grieved by a disingenuous report on the state of this property by the Government Commissioner, the Hon. E. Stanhope. I had hoped, nay, believed, that whenever a Government Commissioner came down he would say at least that we were making progress, that our wages were better than in former years, and our cottage accommodation vastly improved. Not a syllable. He gives a picture of the county as though it were the same as thirty years ago.

CHAPTER XXXI.

1870—1871.

Bible Revision—Desire for Union—Letter to Dr. Angus—Judge Payne—Religious Education in Schools—Demonstration in St. James's Hall—Letter from Mr. W. E. Forster—Deputation to Mr. Gladstone—Letter from Mr. Gladstone—Education Bill in House of Lords—Mr. Orsman and the Golden Lane Mission—Costermongers—The Barrow and Donkey Club—"K. G. and Coster"—Presentation of a Donkey—Shaftesbury's "Characteristics"—Deceased Wife's Sister Bill—Correspondence with Rev. Dr. Binney—Greek Brigandage—Church Congresses—At Pegli—Italian Honours—Levées—Female Suffrage—Letter thereon—Wedding Day—Murder of Archbishop of Paris—Correspondence with Archbishop Manning—Children Employed in Brickfields—A Graphic Picture—Domestic Anxieties—The Ballot—Daniel Webster's Opinion—Speech in House of Lords—A Further Speech on the Ballot—In Scotland—Forster's "Life of Dickens"—Self-Analysis—Past, Present, and Future.

Lord Shaftesbury was a stout opponent of the Revision of the Authorised Version of the Bible, and although after that Revision had been published he greatly modified his views, he was for many years distressed that such a project—"one of the most subtle dangers that beset true religion" as he then regarded it—should have been set on foot. When the question was first mooted in Parliament in 1856, he wrote in his Diary:—

April 27th, 1856.—Mr. Heywood has given notice of a motion whereby to effect a revision of the Bible (an effort to discredit the existing version and obtain a new one). What prospect does this open of confusion, distrust, doubt, difficulty, enmity, and opposi-

tion! Ten thousand evils will ensue; none greater than the utter extinction of an 'Authorised Version,' received by all nations that speak the Anglo-Saxon language.

It was on the ground of the uncertainty which would be created in men's minds as to which was, and which was not, a true and reliable version, that he apprehended the greatest danger. The great majority of the world were, and would be to the end of time, dependent altogether on versions and translations, and could never have even a moderate, and certainly not a critical, knowledge of the original languages; and their resource, in the perplexity and confusion that a variety of versions would create, would be to go to some learned pundit in whose judgment they reposed confidence, and ask him which of the versions he would recommend; and when he gave an opinion they would feel obliged to abide by it, as they could not exercise an opinion of their own. The result of this would be to destroy, not the right but the exercise of, private judgment—"that grand, sacred, solemn principle which is the right of every man, and the great security of churches and of nations, and of the life and soul of individuals."

On the 10th of February, 1870, the Bishop of Winchester, in the Upper House of Convocation, carried a resolution for the appointment of a Committee to report upon the desirableness of a Revision of the Authorised Version of the Old and New Testaments. At once Lord Shaftesbury took up the position he had occupied in 1856, and wrote a letter to the *Times* stating the views we have given above. This originated a corre-

spondence with Professor Selwyn, which appeared in the *Times*, the *Record*, and, subsequently, in the form of a pamphlet. One passage only from that correspondence will we insert here. After anticipating the loss of "the racy old language which is music to everybody's ears," he says:—

> One of the newspapers, in condemning my opinion, charged me with sheer idolatry, as a bigoted worshipper of the mere words and syllables of our present version. The editor, of course, is at liberty to use his own phraseology, and the public to judge of it. I admit that I love, intensely too, its rich, melodious, and heart-moving language. It is like the music of Handel, and carries Divine truth and comfort to the inmost soul. This language has sunk deep into the moral constitution of our people. No one who associates with them, can doubt it. It is the staple of their domestic intercourse, the exponent of their joys and sorrows. And I will maintain that a rude and sudden descent from the majestic and touching tones of our wonderful version, to the thin Frenchified and squeaking sentences in modern use, would be an irreparable shock to every English-speaking man who has drunk in the old and generous language almost with his mother's milk.
>
> "

Some time after the Revised Version had been published, Lord Shaftesbury acknowledged that his fears had not been realised, and it did not appear probable that they would be. "I wrote and spoke against it at the time," he said, "and the result shows clearly that it was not wanted, and is not cared for. It is of no use to the unlearned masses; to the learned few it is insufficient. It goes too far in many places in meddling with the grand and simple beauty of the language in the Authorised Version; it does not go far enough in criticism to make it worth while giving up the other for.

In the old version I read that 'the Jews came to *comfort* Mary;' in the new, that they came to '*console*' her; that the disciples said, according to the old version, 'Lord, is it I?' and in the new, 'Is it I, Lord?' But what good can be effected by such alterations as these? As a whole, the version is less objectionable than I ever thought it would be, but it is so stiff and stilted, and full of stones that break your shins at every turn, that I do not for a moment think it will ever displace the Authorised Version—that precious, inestimable, and holy gift to England; that wondrous translation of His everlasting and Divine Word."

In view of the growing "heresies" of the times, there was in many quarters a desire for union and joint action on the part of the various branches of the Christian Church. It was the burden of a letter from Dr. Angus, of the Baptist College, to whom Lord Shaftesbury replied thus:—

Lord Shaftesbury to Dr. Angus.

January 27th, 1870.

DEAR DR. ANGUS,— . . . I quite agree with you that, in a crisis of the Faith, with untold myriads all over the world in complete ignorance of the name even of Christ, we are busy about external frameworks of secondary value.

We of the Established Church seem to think that all moral and spiritual virtue lies in the exclusive maintenance of it. You Nonconformists are just as headstrong in believing that all prosperity and joy lie in its overthrow. Meanwhile the Establishment does not get hold of the dangerous and seething masses; and Dissent does not attempt it. Would it succeed if it did?

The caldron is hot, the people are bubbling and hissing; and

they will soon boil over in infidelity and aggression. Can we find, no common point, no subject of common appeal to the hearts and consciences of the whole human race? I have one, ever present in my mind—the preaching of the Second Advent of our Blessed Lord. Pay no attention to excited and angry critics, who charge such a scheme with all the extravagancies of the fifth monarchy, and the millennial inventions. The Second Advent, as an all-sufficient remedy, should be prayed for; and, as a promise, should be looked for. The mode, form, and manner of that event are not revealed, and therefore are no business of ours. The whole will become intelligible only by the issue, but we have enough to rouse and guide us in St. Paul's First Epistle to the Thessalonians, and in the words of our Lord Himself at the close of Revelations, 'Surely I come quickly.' That such a tone of preaching, zealously, earnestly, and persistently maintained, would go to the very hearts of, specially, the poorest classes, I have no doubt whatever. Unquestionably it would pacify both Churchmen and Dissenters, as they would be labouring for an issue in which the one party would have no establishment to uphold, and the other would find none to attack.

Yours truly,

SHAFTESBURY.

A severe loss was sustained by Lord Shaftesbury in the removal, by death, of his old friend and associate, Joseph Payne, Deputy Assistant-Judge of the Middlesex Sessions. For years Lord Shaftesbury and he worked together indefatigably, speaking and taking the chair at meetings innumerable, on every scheme that had for its object the bettering of the condition of the poorer classes—Refuges, Bands of Hope, Sunday Rest Societies, Shoe-black Brigades, and especially Ragged Schools. He made the first of many hundred speeches in support of the movement at the *first* annual meeting of the Ragged School Union, held in June, 1845, and the famous poetical "tail-pieces" with which he concluded his speeches

—not rarely composed on the platform—and exceeding 2,400, show how untiringly he had been at work during the twenty-five years of his platform life. Lord Shaftesbury and he worked together as friends and brothers; the very opposite to one another in character, disposition, and expression, and yet agreeing on all points. Judge Payne was essentially a merry man, who loved a joke above all things, and kept his audience in a constant ripple of smiles, until they surged into tempests of laughter, at his sallies of wit. But he possessed the neat and dexterous faculty of bringing the most humorous of his anecdotes to an instructive and moral issue.

"As he and I were constantly on the same platform," Lord Shaftesbury said, "we had a mutual understanding; I was to accept the reiteration of his stories, he the reiteration of my speeches. I made, I think, the better bargain; for, to the last, his stories interested myself and others, but I cannot think that he could have said, certainly he could not have thought, the same of my speeches. He had no self-restraint in the devotion of his time, his thoughts, his mind, his money, and everything that he possessed. Except his conscience, there was no single thing which he considered to be his own."

The Diary records the following affectionate tribute to his memory:—

March 30th.—Last night, on return from Sunday school meeting at Stepney, read, in a letter to me from Miss Bodkin, that my dear, old, precious friend and fellow-worker, Joseph Payne, was suddenly

called to his rest! Most assuredly to his rest in Heaven, for no man ever more loved the Lord Jesus and more truly and heartily fulfilled His words, 'Feed my lambs.' What shall I feel without him? Every meeting, every speech, every mention of Ragged School affairs, every movement or thought in behalf of sorrowing and destitute children will recall his pious and pleasant memory. During five-and-twenty years we have been associates in the happy toil of the poor innocents of London. . . .

The death of Judge Payne occurred at a time when Lord Shaftesbury was in peculiar anxiety with regard to the future of Ragged Schools, owing to the proposed establishment of Board Schools under the system of National Education, introduced by Mr. W. E. Forster, on behalf of Mr. Gladstone's Government. On one aspect of that question he was busily engaged at the time of his friend's death—the exclusion or discouragement of religious teaching in the case of schools aided by grants from the State.

Throughout the Session, the debates upon the "Religious Question" were continuous and heated, and Lord Shaftesbury, at public meetings and in Parliament, was in the forefront of the battle. On the 8th of April a "demonstration" of the National Education Union took place in St. James's Hall, over which he presided, and in a vigorous speech, received with storms of applause, vindicated the claims of the Bible and the right of the people to religious teaching in their schools. He saw that, under this movement, there lay "the great struggle between truth and falsehood, between belief and infidelity," and he had determined to resist it to the death.

There were occasions when Lord Shaftesbury's speeches were brilliant "orations," when the whole man flashed fire, and his words flowed in a rapid torrent of eloquence; when he felt that, as such mighty issues were at stake, unless he threw all his heart and soul and strength into his subject with passionate earnestness, the whole cause would be lost. "I am under a great infirmity," he once wrote to Mr. Haldane, "an insuperable infirmity to public life, that I cannot even speak unless on conviction. Now, I know that it is as just as it is necessary that, in the long range of policy, weak points must be defended, and, oftentimes, very questionable doings may be made to appear good. But such oratory is beyond me. I can say nothing but what I feel, and my feelings frequently get the better of me. So I should have proved an awkward and not seldom a dangerous Minister."

On the occasion to which we now refer, Lord Shaftesbury spoke "with an eloquence," as the Marquis of Salisbury, who was on the platform, said, "he had never heard rivalled." He said:—

What we ask is simply this, that the Bible, and the teaching of the Bible to the children of this vast Empire, shall be an essentia and not an extra. That religious teaching shall be carried on within school hours, not without school hours. Take conscience clauses and time tables enough to satisfy the greatest cormorant for things of that kind, but they will, in my opinion, be all useless, for I am satisfied that the people of England will never require them. What! Exclude by Act of Parliament religious teaching from schools founded, supported, by public rates! Declare that the revealed Word of God and religious teaching shall be exiled to the odds and ends of time, and that only at such periods shall any efforts be devoted to the

most important part of the education of the youth of this Empire! It is an outrage upon the national feelings, and, more than this, it is, without exception, the grossest violation of the rights of religious liberty that was ever perpetrated, or even imagined, in the worst times by the bigotry of any Government whatever, foreign or domestic.

He made a strong point of the fact that in the *Index Expurgatorius* of the promoters of this part of the educational scheme, the Bible was the only proscribed book, and he continued :—

We have now come to a period in the history of our country when there has just been granted to the people almost universal suffrage. Is this a time to take from the mass of the population, in whom all power will henceforward reside, that principle of internal self-control, without which there can be no freedom, social or political—that principle of self-restraint which makes a man respect himself and respect his neighbour—that principle which alone can constitute the honour and stability and promote the dignity of democracy? Is this a time to take from the mass of the people the checks and restraints of religion? Is this a time to harden their hearts by the mere secularity of knowledge, or to withhold from them the cultivation of all those noble and divine influences, which touch the soul?

In conclusion, he appealed to the men and women of England to rise with one heart and soul and say :—

By all our hopes and by all our fears, by the honour of the nation, by the safety of the people, by all that is holy and all that is true, by everything in time and everything in eternity, the children of Great Britain *shall* be brought up in the faith and fear and nurture of the Lord.

The following letter from Mr. W. E. Forster refers to this meeting :—

The Right Hon. W. E. Forster to Lord Shaftesbury.

April 9th, 1870.

DEAR LORD SHAFTESBURY,—Thank you much for your note, and very much for your meeting. I do not think a meeting could have been better managed, or have done more good, and as the *Pall Mall* this morning says, forgetting for a moment its sneer, it rejoices my heart. I fully expect that one speedy result will be a reaction amongst the Dissenters, who will shrink in fear from their position.

It is very kind of you to send me old Fuller's book; I shall value it in itself, and as a remembrance of this crisis, but I must warn you that you think very much better of me than I deserve.

However, I at least see now what I ought to do, and therefore I shall be without excuse if I do not do it.

I am,

Yours faithfully,

W. E. FORSTER.

In Parliament, Lord Shaftesbury reiterated the sentiments he expressed upon the platform, and was instrumental in contributing largely to the defeat of the Secularists. There are frequent references to the subject in the Diary.

March 16th.—Prizes in Exeter Hall last night. Never was I more touched; never more sorrowful. It is, probably, the close of these Christian and heart-moving spectacles. The godless, non-Bible system is at hand; and the Ragged Schools, with all their Divine polity, with all their burning and fruitful love for the poor, with all their prayers and harvests for the temporal and eternal welfare of forsaken, heathenish, destitute, sorrowful, and yet innocent children, must perish under this all-conquering march of intellectual power. Our nature is nothing, the heart is nothing, in the estimation of these zealots of secular knowledge. Everything for the flesh, and nothing for the soul; everything for time, and nothing for eternity. . . .

May 26th.—Deputation to Gladstone about Education. The unanimity of the Churchmen and Dissenters, that is, the vast majority of them, is striking and consolatory. Gladstone could now settle the question by a single word. But he will not. He would rather, it is manifest, exclude the Bible altogether, than have it admitted and taught without the intervention and agency of catechisms and formularies.

The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to Lord Shaftesbury.

June 17th, 1870.

My dear Shaftesbury,—I was not at liberty on Wednesday to speak to you otherwise than in very general terms on the intentions of the Government respecting the Education Bill.

We have now taken our stand; and I write to say how ready I shall be to communicate with you freely in regard to the prospects and provisions of the measure.

I can the better make this tender, because the plan we have adopted is by no means, in all its main particulars, the one most agreeable to my individual predilections.

But I have given it a deliberate assent, as a measure due to the desires and convictions of the country, and as one rendering much honour and scope to religion, without giving fair ground of objection to those who are so fearful that the State should become entangled in theological controversy.

Energetic objection will, I have some fear, be taken, in some quarters, to our proposals: but I believe they will be generally satisfactory to men of moderation.

Pray understand that the willingness I have expressed is not meant to convey any request, but only to be turned to account if you find it useful.

Believe me,

Sincerely yours,

W. E. Gladstone.

July 14th.—Education Bill must soon reach the Lords; and I must, I suppose, make a speech on it. I have a lingering desire to say something on Education; and on the Ballot. I am satisfied that a mighty and a permanent change is at hand; and my only remaining

ambition is to do, as I did on the Reform Bill—give an earnest, though a hopeless, warning as to the fearful issues of secret voting.

July 26th.—Spoke, last night, on Education Question. Saved, by God's mercy, from utterly breaking down. Yet forgot six excellent points.

July 30th.—Education Bill passed through Committee, all in one night. Interposed several times, but without effect. The amendment (alteration of ages),* on which deeply anxious, moved, under sad dejection of spirit and confusion of mind.

Among the working classes there were none in whom Lord Shaftesbury was more deeply interested than the Costermongers of London.

"The pursuit of knowledge under difficulties," he wrote in the preface to a work entitled "Byeways of Two Cities," † "has always been bepraised, and justly so: but why should not the pursuit of an honest livelihood amid great temptations be alike admired? Both are great moral efforts, but I am inclined to think that the poor pains-taking Costermonger, proof against enticements to fraud and falsehood, is, on the whole, the better citizen of the two. Literature may adorn a nation, but the uprightness of its citizens is its bulwark."

In 1861, Mr. W. J. Orsman, a Civil servant, determined to devote his leisure time, after office hours, to the hard task of Evangelising the benighted costermongers, itinerant street-traders and others, who herd together by thousands, in the area circumscribed by Goswell Street, Old Street, Bunhill Row, and Chiswell Street.

Golden Lane, in the heart of this district, was

* Reduction to three years for infants in schools. It was adopted the next Session.

† "Byeways of Two Cities." By G. Holden Pike.

selected by Mr. Orsman as the place to establish a mission, and, in a short time, it was placed upon a permanent and efficient basis.

The natural history of the Costermonger has been well given by Mr. Holden Pike, who is one of the best authorities on life and work among the poor.

"These Costers," he says, "are a hard-working, patient, enduring class, accustomed to making many shifts when times are 'quiet,' or when the commodities they deal in command prices in the open market, which suit neither the Coster's capital nor the pockets of his humble customers. Dr. Johnson defined 'costermonger' as 'a person who sells apples.' A more trustworthy authority—a citizen of Mr. Orsman's territory—summarily sets aside the lexicographer's interpretation as a popular error of the Georgian era. In fact, he declares that 'a person who sells apples' is 'all gammon,' and then considerately explains that a Coster is 'a cove wot works werry 'ard for a werry poor livin', and is always a-bein' hinterfered with, and blowed up, and moved hon, and fined, and sent to quod by the beaks and bobbies.'"

The Costers are careless and improvident; merry and thoughtless, with little religion and less politeness.

At night the donkey, the children, the mothers and fathers—for not uncommonly there are several families in one hovel—all huddle together in the same rooms. The stock-in-trade—fish, fruit, or vegetables—is stored, amidst miscellaneous filth, under the press bedsteads, to be hawked afresh the next day. They go to market

very early in summer, and as soon as it is light in winter, purchasing the cheapest stock, when there is a glut, or a better commodity when the price is reduced by its remaining on hand. They sell their bargains in the poorer streets, at a small profit, and some make their chief advantage by using false weights and measures.

These people are useful in their way, for it is chiefly through their agency that cheap fruit, fish, and vegetables are brought to the doors of the working classes, who in their absence would seldom be able to benefit by the bounty of nature in abundant seasons.

The parents of Ragged School scholars are mostly described in the lists giving their occupations, as "costermongers." As a body, the costermongers are a remarkably hard-working, if a somewhat loud-voiced and hard-mouthed class. Street life almost necessarily generates coarseness of manners and vehemence in dialect, whether in *gamin* or adult. Their calling is very precarious; for, depending as it does so much on the state of the weather, they sometimes readily realise £2 profit in one week, whilst during the next they do not earn five shillings. Like all classes whose income is uncertain, they are mostly improvident and reckless, and, in moments of success, indulge in stimulants or gluttony to a fearful extent. Some, of course, are thrifty and lay up against rainy days, as well as against those stern winter months, when both money and vegetables are scarce.

The capital of most costermongers is very limited; yet, small as it is, it is not rarely borrowed at an

exorbitant rate of interest. The great object of their ambition, especially as it is an external sign of their success in life, is the possession of a donkey and a shambling truck in which to hawk their fruit, fish, and vegetables in the bye-ways of London. The bulk, however, being too poor or too improvident to manage this, they hire donkey and truck, of men who live by letting them out by the day or week.

It was a great day in the history of the Golden Lane Mission to Costermongers, when Mr. Orsman, whose labours had been unremitting and whose success was already assured, received the following letter from Lord Shaftesbury :—

Lord Shaftesbury to Mr. W. J. Orsman.

BOURNEMOUTH, *Nov.* 18*th*, 1868.

DEAR SIR,—You seem to be engaged in a grand work for the benefit of the poorest classes of the metropolis. Mr. Gent, my friend, the secretary of the Ragged School Union, called it a 'noble work.'

I shall be very happy to aid, so far as I can, such admirable efforts; and, if it can be of any use, to accept the office of President.

Your obedient Servant,

SHAFTESBURY.

From the day of Lord Shaftesbury's first acquaintance with the Costers, to the end of his career, there was hardly any society in which he took a deeper interest than in Mr. Orsman's Golden Lane Mission. He always delighted to call himself a "Coster," and nothing would induce him to lose an opportunity of spending a social evening with his "brethren." One

feature of the work was a Barrow and Donkey Club; and the Earl immediately enrolled himself as a member, and subscribed for a barrow and a donkey. The barrow was a handsome one and bore upon it the Shaftesbury arms and motto. It was in constant use by men who were steadily saving to buy barrows of their own, and was always a great attraction in the streets.

In a very remarkable manner, Lord Shaftesbury threw himself into the work among these strange people, and very speedily gained their entire confidence, and his speeches to them were marvellously adapted to their appreciation and capacity.

He was able to render them important services. In 1872, for example, the vestry of St. Luke's issued an order forbidding costermongers any longer to trade in Whitecross Street. The vestry would, undoubtedly, have carried out its intention, had not Lord Shaftesbury interposed on behalf of the costers: the joy of the people, when it became known that the parish magistrates had relented, was unbounded.

One result of the excitement of that time was the establishment of "The London Union of General Dealers." The meetings are held in the Golden Lane Mission Room, and everything touching the general welfare of the costermonger fraternity is there discussed.

At one of the meetings, when the threatened evil was under discussion, Lord Shaftesbury told the men that at any time, when they had grievances which he could assist them to get redressed, they should write to him and he would not fail to respond.

"But where shall we write to?" asked one of them.

"Address your letter to me at Grosvenor Square, and it will, probably, reach me," he replied; "but if after my name you put 'K.G. and Coster,' there will be no doubt that I shall get it."

One of the strangest ceremonials that ever took place at a public meeting occurred in 1875, in connection with this society. Lord Shaftesbury, who was president of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, had taken a deep interest in the costermongers' donkeys. It was proverbial, at one time, that both the donkeys and ponies were shamefully ill-used; but by education, and exhortation, by the institution of donkey shows and prizes, and a variety of other means, the men of Golden Lane had come to take a pride in their animals, and had found that kind and just treatment was the wisest policy. With twenty-four hours' rest on Sunday, they would do thirty miles a day without exhaustion; whereas, without it, they did not do an average of more than fifteen.

In recognition of his kind services, the costers invited Lord Shaftesbury to meet them in their Hall to receive a presentation. Over a thousand costers, with their friends, were there, and the platform was graced by many ladies and gentlemen, when a handsome donkey, profusely decorated with ribands, was led on to the platform and presented as a token of esteem to the chairman. Lord Shaftesbury good-humouredly vacated the chair and made way for the new arrival, and then,

putting his arm round the animal's neck, returned thanks in a short speech, in which, however, there was a ring of pathos, as he said, "When I have passed away from this life I desire to have no more said of me than that I have done my duty, as the poor donkey has done his, with patience and unmurmuring resignation." The donkey was then led down the steps of the platform, and Lord Shaftesbury remarked, "I hope the reporters of the press will state that, the donkey having vacated the chair, the place was taken by Lord Shaftesbury."

The donkey was sent to St. Giles's, where he was made much of, and lived for some years. His end is thus recorded :—

Lord Shaftesbury to Mr. Orsman.

CASTLE WEMYSS, WEMYSS BAY, N.B.,

Sept. 26th, 1878.

DEAR ORSMAN,—I am grieved to tell you that Coster is no more. He broke away one day from the stable and made a dash for the paddock. In so doing he fell and smashed his thigh. The veterinary surgeon was sent for, who pronounced him incurable, and advised that he should be put out of his pain.

The friendly and useful creature was buried, with all honours, in a place I have within a thick plantation, where the pet dogs, horses, etc., that have served the family, and deserved our gratitude, are gathered together.

Remember me very warmly to my brother Costermongers, their wives, and their children.

Yours, S.

The costers, however, soon sent another to supply his place.

Oct. 13*th*, 1882.

DEAR ORSMAN,—It will not be in my power, I regret to say, to attend the anniversary. I cannot be in London at that time. Give my love to the Costers, and say how happy I should have been to meet them again.

The brown donkey has won the affection of every one. My grandchildren were in Dorset this summer; they had it always with them; and they declare that it is the most attractive, amiable creature they ever knew. It followed them like a spaniel. . . .

What day will suit my brother Costers for the Show?

Yours, S.

Throughout the Diaries there are frequent references to life and work among the costers.

May 18th.—A wonderful meeting in Golden Lane last night. A spectacle to gladden angels—comfort, decency, education, and spiritual life, in the midst of filth, destitution, vice, and misery. This, the work of the Gospel, administered by a clerk in the Post Office, who gives all his spare time and the most of his money, to advance the knowledge of Christ, and the earthly and heavenly interests of man. It was enough to humble me. God be blessed, there are two or three men like him; and few things are more marvellous than to see what can be done by one man, whatever his social position, if he have but the love of Christ in his heart, and the Grace of our Lord to lead him on.

In the spring of this year, a new edition of the works of the third Earl of Shaftesbury was edited by the Rev. Mr. Hatch, all the historical papers possessed by Lord Shaftesbury having been placed at his disposal. Through inadvertence, the dedication to Lord Shaftesbury made it appear that his views were, in many respects, identical with those of his illustrious ancestor; and it became his duty to reply to the attacks in the newspapers, and to assure the editors that he had not

become a convert to the principles of the author of the "Characteristics."

April 3rd.—Meditating on my ancestor's ridicule and censure of the doctrine of rewards and punishments. He terms it 'low and mercenary.' It suits his purpose to assume that the rewards of eternity are the same as the rewards of time! That they are *low* as being the indulgence of every worldly delight; that they are mercenary as involving pecuniary grants, ribands, and pensions. He concedes that the rewards promised and the rewards asked for are the purification of the soul, the pardon for sin, mutual and eternal love, unbroken peace, unalloyed spiritual joy, no disease, no violence, no sorrow, no wars, fightings, tumults, but the everlasting presence of God, and the contemplation of His excellency! Is this low? Is this mercenary? May my heart ever be with such people!

After twenty years' controversy, and numerous and decisive divisions in favour of the Bill to Legalise Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister, in the Lower House, it this year passed the three readings without a division. The following correspondence relates to this subject:—

The Rev. Thomas Binney, D.D., to Lord Shaftesbury.

UPPER CLAPTON, E.,

May 16th, 1870.

MY LORD,—Some friends of mine, who do me the honour to think I am personally not unknown to your lordship, have requested me to ask your lordship's attention to a subject which they regard as of great importance, and which will come, I believe, before the House of Lords this week. The subject referred to is the Bill for removing the prohibition of marriage with a deceased wife's sister. It is now all but universally admitted that there is no scriptural argument against this marriage; the only objection is one of expediency, and that is felt for the most part, if not exclusively, by the educated

classes. The poor do not feel it, and the consequence is that they extensively violate the law, or do worse. Ladies and gentlemen feel that a sister-in-law could not live in the family, and take care of the children of a widowed brother-in-law, if they could marry; yet they see no objection in any other lady whom the man might marry doing this! But admitting the marriage in question might not be desirable or the liberty to contract it expedient, at least in the case of some, the question is, whether that which is not forbidden by the law of God should be forbidden by the law of man, on grounds, too, which the mass of the community do not feel.

Those who feel the thing to be inexpedient ought, surely, to have the moral strength to take care of themselves, without the help of a law which inflicts injustice and suffering on others. Many feel that there is inexpediency and impolicy in maintaining a prohibition which cannot be enforced—which is felt to be a wrong—which many submit to at great cost—which numbers violate without loss of *status*, though with peril to their children in respect to property; and which is so generally felt to be unauthorised by God, and so productive of painful social consequences, that the agitation against it is certain to be continued, and yet, from the delicate nature of the question, it is peculiarly ill suited to public controversy. I can quite understand, and can sympathise with the feeling of those who cling to the law as it now is, from the security it seems to give to their family relationships; but as there is no Scriptural warrant for the law, and its operation is injurious to others, I think they should find their security in themselves. It is thought, my lord, that if your lordship could see the propriety, or expediency, of not opposing what the House of Commons has affirmed, and what the majority of the people, it is believed, approve, this would go a very great way to putting an end to an agitation which all must wish to get rid of, but which will not die while the present law exists.

I hope your lordship will kindly excuse the liberty I have taken in addressing you, and forgive me if I have written with any unbecoming freedom.

I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's obedient Servant,

T. BINNEY.

Lord Shaftesbury to the Rev. Thomas Binney.

May 17th, 1870.

DEAR MR. BINNEY,—A minister of your character and standing could not speak to me with too much freedom on serious subjects.

I am glad, and I shall ever be glad, to hear from you. I have never been able to see that these marriages are prohibited by Scripture. But so it must be said of many others. And, if consanguinity is to be the limit, we shall, in approaching that point, break up half the foundations of society. But how can even consanguinity be a limit, when we have overpassed it in allowing the marriage of first cousins? The laws of nature, as they are called, can be no check, for they are, incestuously, violated every day.

The tendency, no doubt, is all in the direction of removing every prohibition; and if the House of Commons, elected as it is by universal suffrage, persist, we must give way. I, myself, shall vote, if I vote at all, against it for the last time. Further resistance would be useless and mischievous.

Yours very truly,

SHAFTESBURY.

Two days afterwards, Mr. Thomas Chambers, whose Bill it was, wrote to Lord Shaftesbury to endeavour "to secure neutrality, if he could not win his approval," in face of "such indubitable and emphatic expression of the popular will in a matter not political but social." Lord Shaftesbury replied to the effect of the letter quoted above, namely, that he should oppose the second reading in this instance, but on no future occasion, and concluded, "The people can have what they wish, and they, probably, will have it. I, for one, shall henceforward think it my duty to accept the measure and submit to the deliberate decision of the country."

Lord Shaftesbury's persistently strong *personal*

feeling against the Bill never became, in the least degree, modified. As late as June 28th, 1883, he wrote to a friend, that though his public action had changed, for the reasons already given, his sentiment remained the same ever since 1842, when he spoke against it in the House of Commons."

The following extracts relate to a variety of subjects engaging the thought of Lord Shaftesbury during this year:—

April 25th.—Three English gentlemen, among whom was Fred. Vyner, the son of my old friend, Lady Mary, have been captured and slain by brigands near Athens. Cecil had intended to join the party to Marathon. A special providence, God's interposing mercy, saved him from it. Had not the steamer to Italy been ordered to sail the next day, he would have gone with the rest, and have shared their fate.

April 27th.—This very dreadful event has seized hold of my imagination, and haunts me day and night. 'O God, to whom vengeance belongeth, show Thyself.' The cruelty, the cowardice, the blood-thirstiness of the deed! Poor boy, poor dear boy, Fred. Vyner, so young, so gentle, and so handsome! . . .

June 11th.—Had tea with dear, good, old Mrs. Smithies, the mother of the admirable, unrivalled servant of our Lord.* Chunder Sen there—had some interesting conversation with him.

June 27th.—Clarendon died this morning. He was a kind and true friend to me on all occasions. . . .

July 16th.—France has declared war against Prussia; the Papal champion against the Protestant in Continental Europe.

July 23rd.—On 21st, forced Ecclesiastical Courts Bill to a second reading; aided strongly Married Women's Property Bill; and to-day went to Ealing to open Girls' Industrial Refuge. The 'speaking' part of all these duties detestable, and, I fear, inefficient. . . . Anxious about these Refuges for training deserted and destitute girls for domestic life, servants, wives, and mothers. Humanly speaking,

* Mr. T. B. Smithies, who originated the *British Workman*.

we have no hope for the country but in the improvement of our women. My old and admirable coadjutor, Williams, a very choice servant indeed of our blessed Lord, as usual, the principal mover. . . . .

We do not propose to quote from the voluminous notes of Lord Shaftesbury on the Franco-Prussia war further than to show how it brought to him an increase of labour and anxiety. On the 5th of August a meeting was held in Willis's Rooms for the purpose of aiding the sick and wounded in the war. Lord Shaftesbury moved the first resolution, and in words "wary and few" set forth the duty of Christian people to endeavour to alleviate the horrors of the fearful conflict by relieving the pressure of suffering, by distributing their contributions equally between Germans and French. The result of the meeting was the establishment of the "National Society for Aiding the Sick and Wounded in time of War," of which Lord Shaftesbury became President, and took a very active part and much interest in its operations. Reference to it is made in the following letter to his eldest daughter :—

*Lord Shaftesbury to Lady Victoria Ashley.**

RYDE, *Sept. 2nd*, 1870.

DARLING VEA,—It is a very trite remark, but I must repeat it, 'How vain are all human calculations!' I had promised myself a few days' leisure to finish off a thousand little things, and I find the whole set at nought by the necessity (for so it is) of reading all the papers, by endless correspondence on this sick and wounded affair; letters to Gladstone and Granville; and a journey to London.

* Now Lady Templemore.

What a war! what a scene of sorrow, suffering, devastation, and sin! For rapidity of battles we have no precedent; and perhaps the carnage, in so short a time, is without parallel. The state of the wounded, on both sides, is terrible. On the German side, from inability to give them due attendance; on the French, from absolute desertion. You may have seen in the postscript to Loyd Lindsay's letter in the *Times* of yesterday, that he uses this expression: 'The French wounded are abandoned by both friend and foe.' So it is. Dr. Frank, our medical agent, writes to us from Luxembourg: 'The French have *announced* to us that they will not, henceforward, remove any of their wounded, intending thereby to encumber the march of the German troops!' . . . .

Perhaps there are few things more singular, in the days in which we live, than to see a capital of two millions of people, with no end of newspapers, electric telegraphs, and penny posts, kept in such profound ignorance of all that is passing within a hundred miles of their gates.

And nothing more disgusting than the criminations and recriminations of the Chamber, and the perpetual shrieks for 'vengeance,' without one expression of prayer for deliverance to Almighty God. The *Figaro*, which I see every day, and the writings of M. About, bring out the monkey-half of the French character, as their Turco prisoners and the neglect of their mutilated countrymen, bring out the tiger half.

God grant a speedy end to this dreadful conflict! For the poor soldiery, for the inhabitants of Strasburg, for the peasantry, French and German, I feel alike. But I have no sympathy for the Empress, very little for the Emperor, none for Thiers and all that race of insolent, ambitious, and godless men. . . . . It seems to me that, whatever the issue, France will be internally and socially injured for many years to come. . . . .

We anticipate an expedition to Ventnor, and sundry other things of a tempting description. . . . .

May God bless you.

S.

A Church Congress was to be held in Southampton in October, and Lord Shaftesbury was urgently entreated

to attend. He persistently refused, however, and his reasons were given to Mr. Haldane thus:—

Could I go to a meeting called by a Congress on Church principles, and omit to say a single syllable on Church matters? And could I, in sense and principle, omit to point out the great dangers of the Church: and first and foremost among them, the apathy or connivance of our Bishops?

I have, besides, a strong conviction that among the working men themselves must be found the grand agency, in their vigorous, but ecclesiastically abnormal, action. To tell them this, and enlist their sympathies, and summon the clergy to command them, would raise a storm of discord and hatred.

To leave out this point, would be to leave the Hamlet out of my speech.

Lord Shaftesbury never overcame his objections to Church Congresses, and never attended one, although frequently urged to do so.

Oct. 16th.—The Church Congress at Southampton is over. So far as can be judged by the reports of it in the papers, it came to no conclusions, made no suggestions, promised no action, and exhibited no unanimity. The clergy, as usual, expressed the warmest desire for the co-operation of the laity, and a wish that they should share in the government of the Church. But one and all of them seemed to maintain that to 'Convocation' their admission was impossible. I heartily rejoice that I did not attend it. . . . .

Nov. 9th.—Professor Huxley, in a correspondence with the Rev. W. Freemantle on School Boards, has this definition of morality and religion: 'Teach a child what is wise, that is *morality*. Teach him what is wise and beautiful, that is religion!' Let no one henceforward despair of making things clear, and of giving explanations! . . .

Nov. 21st.—I have one ambition left, a strong ambition—the ambition to make a powerful speech against the Ballot. Hopeless, I know, to turn the hateful system aside; but I wish to denounce it, as everything that is dangerous in politics, mean in morals, and cowardly in the discharge of duty.

The state of his daughter Constance's health made wintering abroad a necessity. The resting-places were Heidelberg, Innspruck, Milan, Genoa, and then came a long and enforced detention at Pegli, a little ship-building town, held, however, in great esteem by the Italians for its sea-bathing, and a further detention at Finale, a small, uninteresting sea-port.

Dec. 21st.—Pegli. Came here yesterday; glad to leave Genoa, for the air, so close to the port, is not refreshing, nor, indeed, healthy. This is a pretty place, a lively, dirty, and dilapidated fishing village. There seems to be no privacy, no cleanliness, no decency; and yet all is cheerful, well fed, and well clad. . . .

'To me,' says Mackonochie (in his letter to the *Record* of Dec. 12th, 1870), 'the Church of England is, in God's providence, the only channel ordained of Him, through which His grace can reach my soul.' That is his plea for not leaving it. The decisions of the Judicial Committee of Privy Council are his plea for not obeying it. It is lamentable to see a high, self-denying, and self-sacrificing spirit in such a quandary of conflicting duties. But he could leave the Establishment without leaving the Church of England. Unless civil laws and temporalities are essential to his notion of a church, the channel of grace would be as open to him after, as before, his severance from the external fabric. . . .

Writing to Mr. Haldane on the last day of the year, he says of the natives of Pegli:—

The people here are a marvel to me. They are about all day, men and boys, They do nothing whatever. Once in a week, when the sea is calm, a single boat goes out, and returns with a tea-cupful of small fish! And yet they are well clad, well fed, very orderly and civil, and seem to enjoy life.

On the 10th of January, he notes in his Diary:—

Jan. 10th, 1871.—Finale. Still here. Though improved, the dear girl must not yet move. If silence, sameness, and solitude are bene-

ficial, we shall be vastly enriched by our stay here. Had looked forward to bright sun, warm air, and hours of meditation *sub jove*. But no such thing. Externally, all is cold, dusty, cheerless; internally, nearly as cold, and, moreover, uncomfortable, and ill-adapted to thought and retirement. What a six weeks we have passed! Frost, snow, wind, dust, cold, darkness, wretched houses, wretched fires; and at a cost which might elsewhere have procured innumerable comforts to mind and body.

Almost the only diversion during this wearisome time was the reception of a deputation to offer him the post of "Honorary Member of the Operative Mutual Aid Society of Finale," an offer he accepted "at a cost of fifty francs and a quantity of bad Italian." On the 14th of January, the health of Lady Constance was restored sufficiently to allow her removal by easy stages to San Remo. There were pressing duties awaiting Lord Shaftesbury in England, and therefore, as soon as his daughter was convalescent, he left her with Lady Shaftesbury at St. Remo, and set his face homewards.

March 18th.—London. Chair of Workmen's meeting, Lambeth Baths. I feel no energy now in these gatherings. The very thought of any public effort distresses me. Afterwards to Speaker's Levée. The peers have given up the wholesome and politic practice of attending these Levées, and I cannot persuade a single one of them to go. They dislike the trouble; and prefer to throw away an opportunity of doing service. It was, and it would be again, pleasing to the Democracy of the House of Commons; it brought the two Houses into contact, and induced a reciprocity of courteous feeling and courteous action.

On night of 16th, opened a Lodging House for Newsboys in Gray's Inn Road. What a rough, unwashed, uncombed lot! But there is good material in them; and, by God's blessing, we can work it into shape.

Referring to the rejection by the House of Lords, for the sixth time, of the Bill to Legalise Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister, he says :—

April 1st.—The House of Lords, under the advice of Derby, passed the measure which enacted the sovereignty of the people; and now they set themselves to defy it. A systematic and sustained opposition is unjustifiable. Rejection of measures that the Commons may give reconsideration, in one, or even two instances, is both legitimate and wise. Further than that is foolish and perilous. But *when*, *where*, *what*, and *how* to concede, is the most arduous point of statesmanship. I have hardly ever known a man who had the gift. . . .

May 1st.—Last night to Westminster Abbey (Sunday) to sermon by Bishop Ryan in aid of Bible Society. It was a grand sermon, and singularly adapted to its purpose. How glorious and impressive, the ancient edifice, with light in its centre, and darkness all around; typical of God's Truth amidst iniquity and unbelief! . . .

May 6th. — Last year Mr. Gladstone, speaking on Female Suffrage, said: 'This Bill will disturb, nay, uproot, the very foundations of social life!' This year he says: 'We had better defer it until we shall have got the Ballot, then it will be quite safe.' A man has a right to either opinion, but not to both within so short a time.' . . .

Upon the question of Female Suffrage, Lord Shaftesbury held a decided opinion. That opinion was often asked, and it was generally given guardedly, as in the following letter:—

Lord Shaftesbury to Mrs. ———.

Dec. 28th, 1871.

MADAM,—The question of Women's Suffrage, on which you do me the honour to ask my opinion, is one, I take it, already decided either by consideration or indifference, in the public mind. It is manifestly a question which requires only perseverance on the part of its promoters, and that not a long perseverance, to attain success.

In the days in which we live, there is little use in any sustained opposition to the popular will. The masses of the people hold the power, and they are, moreover, considered to be the best judges of social and political proprieties; and, except in cases where the principle of a change might be so strong as deeply to affect the conscience, their fiat must be obeyed.

The grant of Women's Suffrage cannot be confined to spinsters. In the alterations at hand in respect to women's property, it must be extended to wives; and this, conjoined with certain changes in the laws of marriage, now apparently inevitable, will remodel, as it were, the entire system of domestic life.

It is possible that good may come out of the whole process; but it is equally possible that evil may be the result. The matter, however, rests with the holders of the suffrage, from whose repeated determination there is no appeal.

You have, no doubt, on your side a concession, to a great extent, of the principle, in the grant already made to women, of the municipal and other suffrages. You have it also in the right that women enjoy to sit and speechify on School Boards. Here we may see an easy transition to the House of Commons.

I shall feel myself bound to conform to the national will. But I am not prepared to stimulate it. It is fast enough and strong enough already; and I must, therefore, with all respect, decline to be enrolled on the list of honourable persons you have been so good as to send me.

I am, Madam,

Your obedient Servant,

SHAFTESBURY.

Lord Shaftesbury entered upon his May Meeting work this year with a sorrowful spirit. The anniversary of his seventieth birthday had passed; he had begun to feel the weight of years, and the question had arisen in his mind whether he should persevere or forbear in his "platform career." It was immediately after he had

been discussing this question with himself in the Diary that he made the following entry :—

May 10th.—To-day, Willis's Rooms, to move a resolution in aid of St. George's Hospital. The first thing that struck my ears in the Committee room was 'a regular damper.' 'What,' said Lord Penrhyn, 'are we not to have any new speakers, none but the old ones?' He blurted out, not at all in an intentionally offensive spirit, a great fact, a sad truth. The guilt and punishment of thirty years of platform work rushed upon my conscience. But was obliged to proceed. . . .

Towards the end of May, the members of his family who had been sojourning in the Riviera returned safely, and once more united under the family roof at "The Saint;" hope revived, and he wrote :—

June 8th.—God grant that I may have strength and leisure to do a few things this Session. There are the wretched Sweeps of Nottingham, the Brickfields, the Truck System, and 'Juvenile Literature.' Much occupied by this hopeless Bill to amend the Ecclesiastical Courts. A vain effort! What would it then be to 'amend' the Church? . . .

June 10th.—To-day my wedding-day, now thirty-nine years ago. Blessed be God for His precious gift in my dear, true, and affectionate wife. What a term of life to have enjoyed, by His mercy, such unalloyed happiness, so far, at least, as our union is concerned. May the rest of our lives be devoted to thankfulness and service! Would not her children say the same and abound in gratitude for so tender and so good a mother? . . .

The atrocious murder of the Archbishop of Paris by the Communists, during their horrible reign of terror, gave occasion to Lord Shaftesbury to write to Archbishop Manning. For some time there had been very friendly relations between them. In the previous year, for example, the Archbishop having quoted Lord

Shaftesbury freely in a sermon on the poor of London, sent him a copy, and at the same time requested an interview to "converse freely on this matter, which is of life and death." In acknowledging the letter and sermon, Lord Shaftesbury believed they had "a common desire to keep the name of our Blessed Lord afloat upon the waters;" and expressed the wish to discuss with the Archbishop "very many social questions of high interest." A strong mutual regard sprung up between them, and in many important works we shall find them working side by side with zeal and fervour.

Lord Shaftesbury to Archbishop Manning.

May 31, 1871.

MY DEAR ARCHBISHOP,—One line to express my deep sympathy with you, and my intense horror in respect of the murder of that good, excellent, and pious prelate, the Archbishop of Paris. I know well, from the best sources, the purity of his love and his zeal and Christian love for all the people of his diocese.

But it is of no use to dwell just now on this satanical event. Hell is let loose. Can there be no combination among those who differ on many, and, indeed, important points, to withstand the torrent of blasphemy and crime? You and I have oftentimes discussed these things. Can we not go thus far together, to press, by every legitimate means, on the minds of all our people in London that there is a Creator, a Redeemer, and a judgment to come?

Truly yours,

SHAFTESBURY.

Archbishop Manning to Lord Shaftesbury.

8, YORK PLACE, W.,

June 2nd, 1871.

MY DEAR LORD,—I thank you very sincerely for your letter of generous sympathy. You have truly appreciated the character of

the Archbishop of Paris, who has died nobly, as a pastor ought, in the midst of his flock.

With all my heart I respond to the appeal of your letter. There is a broad, deep, and solid foundation on which we all rest, and we are all alike bound to stand together in its defence. The belief in God, and in our Lord Jesus Christ; in Christianity as a Divine Revelation, and in Holy Scripture as the Written Word of God, are four first principles and Divine truths which we all are ready to die for. Let us live for them, and endeavour to sustain them where they yet exist, and to revive them where they are declining. In this endeavour I shall, with all joy, work with you in every way possible to us respectively. I feel that we are all bound for our Master's sake, for the Truth's sake, and for the sake of our people, to make this common effort.

What I would propose is that we should consider of the possibility of holding a conference of a few men on whom responsibility rests, to ascertain what can be done. I shall be glad to come to you, or to see you here on the subject, whensoever it may be convenient.

Believe me, always,

Faithfully yours,

HENRY E. MANNING.

The month of July brought with it little of summer gladness. The physicians had pronounced that a sojourn in the Riviera for the winter was absolutely necessary to the health of Lady Constance; it was, in fact, her only human chance of life. This dashed to the ground all the plans that Lord Shaftesbury had made "to organise a general Christian movement," and to make up for the inactivity of the previous winter. But this was not all. His youngest son, Cecil, was seized with an alarming illness, and for many days and nights lay hovering between life and death; and, from constant watching

and intense anxiety, Lady Shaftesbury also fell ill. On the day when two physicians had given the first decided words of encouragement, the following characteristic entry occurs in his Diary :—

July 28th.—Ran to Whitechapel to-day to see the little piece of stranded sea-weed—a small, poor, parentless girl of eight years old, whom God, in His goodness, has manifestly entrusted to my care. Sent her in emigration to Canada with a religious family. May the Lord preserve her, and bless her in body and in soul !

As the result of the inquiries instituted by the Children's Employment Commission, remedial measures were passed to benefit children and young persons in various departments of trade; but, by a technical difficulty, children employed in brickfields were excluded from the protection of these measures, while those employed in pottery and porcelain works were included.

Of course Lord Shaftesbury could not rest until this manifest injustice was set right, and on the 11th of July he moved an Address on the subject in the House of Lords. He stated that there were about 3,000 brickyards in this country, and that the number of children and young persons employed in them amounted to nearly 30,000, their ages varying from 3½ to 17. A large proportion of these were females, and the hours during which they were kept to their monstrous toil were from fourteen to sixteen per day.

Lord Shaftesbury gave the testimony of his own experience in these words :—

I went down to a brickfield and made a considerable inspection. On approaching, I first saw, at a distance, what appeared like eight or

ten pillars of clay, which, I thought, were placed there in order to indicate how deep the clay had been worked. On walking up, I found to my astonishment that these pillars were living beings. They were so like the ground on which they stood, their features were so indistinguishable, their dress so besoiled and covered with clay, their flesh so like their dress, that, until I approached and saw them move, I believed them to be products of the earth. When I approached, they were so scared at seeing anything not like themselves, that they ran away screaming as though something satanic was approaching. I followed them to their work, and there I saw what Elihu Burritt has so well described. I saw little children, three-parts naked, tottering under the weight of wet clay, some of it on their heads, and some on their shoulders, and little girls with large masses of wet, cold, and dripping clay pressing on the abdomens. Moreover, the unhappy children were exposed to the most sudden transitions of heat and cold; for, after carrying their burdens of wet clay, they had to endure the heat of the kiln, and to enter places where the heat was so fierce, that I was not myself able to remain more than two or three minutes. Can it be denied that in these brickfields, men, women, and children, especially poor female children, are brought down to a point of degradation and suffering lower than the beasts of the field? No man with a sense of humanity, or with the aspirations of a Christian, could go through these places and not feel that what he saw was a disgrace to the country, and ought not for a moment to be allowed to continue. Therefore, my lords, I hope that not a day will be permitted to pass, until an Address is sent up to the Queen praying Her Majesty to take the condition of these poor people into her gracious consideration, in order that such abominations may be brought speedily to an end.

The prayer was granted, and children in brickfields at length came under the beneficent protection of the law.

There was probably no subject that had engaged the attention of Parliamentary leaders more frequently than the Ballot. Radicals had persistently put it forward as an imperatively-needed reform; Conservatives had

as strenuously opposed it as unconstitutional and un-English. In a letter dated February 2, 1708, Addison states that the House of Commons were then engaged over a proposal to decide elections by the Ballot. It was not, however, till 1832, the era of the first Reform Bill, that vote by Ballot came much into favour with the general public. In the first Session of the Reformed Parliament, Mr. Grote, the historian of Greece, who was one of the members for the City of London, brought in a Bill to provide for secret voting at Parliamentary elections; but the measure was rejected by 211 votes to 106, and thirty-nine years elapsed before the question was settled. Mr. Grote espoused it as his peculiar charge, and brought it, again and again, before the House. He was succeeded, as the annual mover of the Ballot resolution, by Mr. Henry Berkeley, who, in 1851, by a majority of 37, carried his motion, in spite of the opposition of Lord John Russell and the Government. Influenced by the continued recurrence of electoral corruption, Lord J. Russell was gradually induced to avow himself as almost a convert to the expediency of adopting secret voting. Another great opponent, who saw reason to alter his views, was Mr. Gladstone. In 1868, a Committee of the House of Commons, presided over by Lord Hartington, elicited such startling evidence of widespread corruption, that Mr. Gladstone, like many others, conceived that the time had arrived when practical legislation on this subject was absolutely necessary.

In July, 1869, the Select Committee on Electoral

Practices reported in favour of the Ballot as a measure likely to put an end to many gross evils, and to mitigate others. The Queen's Speech of 1871 called the attention of Parliament to the subject of secret voting, and accordingly a measure was introduced by Mr. Forster, and passed by the Commons. It was, however, late in the Session, thrown out by the Lords. The Bill made its appearance in the Upper House on August the 8th, and was read a first time, whereupon Lord Shaftesbury gave notice that, on the motion for the second reading of the Bill, he should move that it be read a second time that day six months. For many years his mind had been made up on the subject. In 1839, Daniel Webster, on the evening of the day before he quitted England, called on him in his London house, and had a long talk with him in the library. He expressed his deep sympathy with the honour and happiness of this country, and the satisfaction his visit to it had given him. And then —with a warmth and earnestness which so startled his hearer, that forty-five years afterwards, when recounting to the writer the circumstances, he depicted the manner and gestures, and recalled the actual words spoken on that occasion—"Above all things," said Daniel Webster, "resist to the very last the introduction of the Ballot; for as a republican I tell you that the Ballot can never co-exist with monarchical institutions. You have a monarchy," he continued, "and we a republic, both good in their way, if adapted to the genius and feelings of the people. America has the deepest interest in the welfare of England; and I tell

you that it would be the greatest blow to real freedom were anything done to degrade your ancient monarchy from its present position."

These words were never forgotten; and it had long been the ambition of Lord Shaftesbury to speak on the subject in the House of Lords.

On the 18th of August, the second reading of the Bill was moved by the Marquis of Ripon, and Lord Shaftesbury rose to make the motion of which he had given notice. He protested against a subject of such magnitude being brought before them at that advanced period of the Session. It had been said that no discussion was necessary in the House of Lords—that it was purely a House of Commons' question. To this Lord Shaftesbury replied :—

> I know of no question in the whole history of legislation which is so completely an imperial one. Almost any question hitherto submitted to your House would sink in comparison with it. If carried, it may be for good or for evil, but it will, at all events, produce serious and permanent effects on the constitutional habits, on the minds, thoughts, and feelings of the people of this country.*

After pointing out a series of defects in the measure, and denouncing it as unworkable with its "incoherent, confused, and contradictory details," he appealed to the House to set it aside until the next Session, simply and solely on the ground that it might then have full, free, fair, and deliberate discussion.

A debate followed, and in the end 97 supported Lord Shaftesbury's amendment, and 48 voted for the

* Hansard's Debates, ccviii. 1264.

second reading, and so the Ballot was staved off for another year.

On the reintroduction of the Bill in June, 1872, Lord Shaftesbury spoke in the debate on the second reading, and clearly set forth the position he had taken up, which was, briefly, as follows :—The Bill was thrown out in the previous year on account of its novelty and its great danger, and in order that the country might have time to fully consider it. Now that the House had expressed its views, and those views expressed the feeling of the country, he did not feel at liberty to offer further opposition to the Bill.

There was no reason, however, why the attention of the country should not be called to the principles involved in the Bill, and Lord Shaftesbury proceeded to adduce a formidable array of arguments against the present expediency of those principles. We will only give one quotation, to show the tenor of the speech :—

My lords, I object to the Ballot, because it gives absolute and irresponsible power into the hands of those who, as yet at least, are most unfitted to use it. If given at all, it should be confided only to the highest order of political virtue. Again, I object to it because you are taking away from the great mass of the voters, and all the working people, the noble sentiment of public responsibility. I have gone among the working people for some forty years ; and the sentiment which I always found most elevating, and to which they responded most heartily, was when I told them that they were responsible beings—responsible to God and man, and that they ought to be proud to discharge that responsibility in the eye of day and in the face of the whole community. That generous sense of responsibility you are now going to take away—you are going to do that which will enable a man, and indeed, by your compulsory system, force a man, to slink away like a creeping animal ; and just at a time

when men are rising to a sense of their dignity, you are going to insist that they shall not dare to declare their sentiments, nor discharge their duty in the face of their fellow-citizens. I object to the Bill, again, because—many people are not aware—that there is no middle place in England between Monarchy and a Republic. There are many men who by a Republic mean a Government consisting of the best men known, and of all that is great and good. But under the Ballot you will have nothing of the kind. When you go away from Monarchy—and from Monarchy you must go away under the Ballot—it is not to a Republic of that kind you will come, but to a Democracy, and that too when you will have upset the moral sense of half your people by your system of secrecy. Then the social objections to the Ballot are very great. Many men will pass their lives under suspicion, for the honestest can never prove that he has acted up to his declaration—and you will thus keep back from the poll the best of the electors, who will rather lose their vote than be subject to doubt and misrepresentation.

Eventually, when the Bill was in Committee, and it was useless for Lord Shaftesbury to protest further against its principle, he devoted himself arduously to the work of improving it. He met with considerable opposition, and the debate became so personal that the Order of the House as to "Asperity of Speech" had to be read. One proposal of his—that the hours of polling should be extended to 8 p.m. instead of 4 p.m.—was carried; another, that all public-houses should be closed during polling hours, was rejected.*

The Bill ultimately became law, and thus "a great constitutional change was completed, after a controversy of forty years."†

Returning now to the Diary for 1871, we find the

* Hansard, ccxi. 1822, 1831, 1843; ccxii. 16, 18.

† Annual Register, 1872.

following entries shortly after the record of the debate on the Ballot:—

Aug. 15th.—A great many abusive anonymous letters. The *Daily News* of Saturday last calls me 'an obtrusive professor of street-corner piety,' and adds that 'the Pharisaism of Lord S. is unimpeached and unimpeachable!' 'Such honours Ilion to her hero paid!'

. . The few papers that attack me strike all of them on the same key, 'his Pharisaism!' Be it so. I appeal unto Cæsar, the Great Cæsar of all.

At the end of August, health having been partially re-established in his household, Lord Shaftesbury started for Scotland. His headquarters were, as usual, with his friends at Castle Wemyss, but some time was spent in Glasgow, where a series of events occurred, which are summarised in three or four lines in the Diary. They form, however, the subject of a little book of 111 pages, published in Glasgow, and include the presentation of the Freedom of the city to Lord Shaftesbury; the laying by him of the foundation-stones of the Convalescent Home and Stonefield Church; a "demonstration" in favour of Sabbath observance, meetings, conferences, conversaziones, and distribution of prizes (by the Princess Louise) on H.M.S. *Cumberland*.

Sept. 1st.—After several days of intense work and speechifying, back here last night (Castle Wemyss) by special train. Must be off again immediately by steamboat to Inverary. No time to record anything except humble, hearty, and eternal thanks to Almighty God, who has so wonderfully sustained me in body and mind, and has so wonderfully prospered everything in this affair, even to the smallest particle. From the time we began the campaign to the hour we ended it, not an hour was interposed of bad weather. And

yet the large proportion of our work was in the open air. Ought we not to bless God for this? Is it presumption so to do? I trow not. The whole affair, had we been exposed to wet, must have been a sad failure.

Evelyn has been with us the whole time, and has been an immense addition to our comfort and pleasure. . . .

On returning from Scotland, a few days were spent at St. Giles's and in London, in making preparations prior to departure for the Continent; and, soon after, the entries in the Diary were made at Cannes:—

Nov. 6th.—To-day Minny's birthday. May God bless her in body and in soul, and yet give her many anniversaries! She has been, and is, a most precious wife to me.

Dec. 20th.—Forster has sent me his 'Life of Dickens.' The man was a phenomenon, an exception, a special production. Nothing like him ever preceded. Nature isn't such a tautologist as to make another to follow him. He was set, I doubt not, to rouse attention to many evils and many woes; and though not putting it on Christian principle (which would have rendered it unacceptable), he may have been, in God's singular and unfathomable goodness, as much a servant of the Most High as the pagan Naaman, 'by whom the Lord had given deliverance to Syria!' God gave him, as I wrote to Forster, a general retainer against all suffering and oppression. . . .

The old habit of self-analysis—a habit injurious to some but helpful to others—was never abandoned by Lord Shaftesbury, and at seventy as at twenty-seven we find him closing the year with a remarkable review of his past life, and an examination into his present state.

Dec. 22nd.—I am seventy years of age and six months. My eyesight is very good, requiring glasses only for reading; I am somewhat deaf. I sleep well, walk easily, though not very far without fatigue. Am tolerably erect, and have very few grey hairs. Whatever mind I ever had, I think that I retain. Memory may be—I am

not quite sure—a little weakened. Doubtless it is so in respect of getting things by heart. Am generally calm and collected, though oftentimes in high spirits, and oftentimes exceedingly low. Yet in neither extreme do I alter the opinions I have formed. I do not, of course, as I used to do, look forward constantly to some fresh thing to be achieved. I estimate obstacles more accurately, and confess the very short time at command. I have nevertheless projects, and it is pleasant to indulge them, though I may never be able to execute them. My feelings are as vivid and as keen as in my youth—on all subjects, I may say, except in cases of neglect or affront. Here, of course, I am not pleased; but I accept the matter, as the French say, a 'fait accompli,' and there the question ends. . . .

Dec. 31st.—Have been thinking lately of past career and present position; and am astonished how I went through one, and now stand in the other. In knowledge of all kinds behind my chief cotemporaries, without pretence to literary attainments (though with an immense fondness for them); intellectually, not strong; over-anxious for success, over-fearful of failure, easily exalted, as easily depressed; with a good deal of ambition, and no real self-confidence. Weak in debate, and incapable of any effort, without some preparation; a poor and ineffective orator, though foolishly desirous of being a great one. Yet I have had successes—great successes—successes for a time, the memory of which has passed away. How were they attained? I know not. The only qualities I can claim for myself are feeling, perseverance, and conviction. These, I suppose, have, under God, brought me to the position I now hold—a position of notoriety and even of reputation. I am greatly indebted, generally speaking, to the Press. Throughout my career much assailed, reviled, calumniated by every one without exception at times; but the great preponderance is on the side of support, specially the *Times*, to whose aid I attribute many a prosperous issue. . . . But feeling, perseverance, and conviction, which would be very useful to a young man at the outset of his career, would be of small avail to an old one at the close of it. What, then, is my stock-in-trade for the duties of the next Session, which is nearly as much as I dare hope for—I must not say 'calculate' on? Well, so far as I can estimate, they are remnants of intellectual power, remnants of influence, remnants of doings considered as past services, remnants of zeal, all backed by a certain amount of public forbearance. . . .

CHAPTER XXXII.

1872.

THE SHADOW OF DEATH.

The Veiled Future—An Annual Exile—Sir Henry Holland—Athanasian Creed—Ecclesiastical Courts Bills—Letters to Lady Shaftesbury—Thanksgiving for Recovery of Prince of Wales—Religious Clauses of Education Bill—Levée at Buckingham Palace—A Patriotic Meeting—Social Reforms—Conference on Church Reform—Foreshadowings of Evil—At Panshanger—Illness of Lady Shaftesbury—Costermongers' Prayers—Death of Lady Shaftesbury—Letter to Lady Gainsborough—At Mentone—A Terrible Week—Death of Lady Constance Ashley—A Gleam of Sunshine.

It is a commonplace saying that the veil which covers the face of Futurity is woven by the hand of Mercy. But the saying is true universally, and it was specially true in the case of Lord Shaftesbury as he entered vigorously upon a new year in a foreign land—little dreaming that it was to be the saddest year of his long eventful life. In his exile, his heart was in his old haunts, and we find him laying his plans for abundant work whenever he should be able to return and take it up again. Thus he writes:—

Jan. 6th.—Mentone. The Ragged Schools are sinking rapidly. To attempt their prolonged existence will be a waste of time, health, and strength. Must labour, with a few chosen friends, to catch the waifs and strays, and bring them to Christ. Must do all that I can, and how little that is! for the several missions in the most desperate of London localities. Must take, for the last time, chairs of certain societies, and concentrate my powers for a few things. . . .

Jan. 28th.—How sad, how painfully sad, this annual exile from home! What duties are neglected—what opportunities lost! The return to Parliament is equally sad, for I leave many behind me; but I lie under obligations to give some portion of my time to God and man. No part of the Session may be lost. It is the time for activity. The Session ended, all is broken up, and with the return of autumn, when useful service would recommence, I renew my exile. O God, have mercy upon me! I am wrenched to the very core.

Jan. 30th.—Yesterday Lorne and Princess Louise came here to luncheon. . . .

Feb. 1st.—As for the Athanasian Creed, I have already stated openly in the House of Lords that, in the temper of men's minds, it ought not to form part of the public service; but should be retained, as a document for reference, in the Prayer-book. . . .

Must, and will, do much under God's blessing, to resist disestablishment, and secure the parochial system. Would admit any wide reforms, certainly to the extent of excluding the Bishops from the House of Lords.

Feb. 7th.—Parliament met yesterday. It will be a Session of results, far more than either the Government or the Opposition desire. . . .

The next entry in the Diary was written in London, where he arrived on the 17th of February. Two days later he once more introduced into the House of Lords his Ecclesiastical Courts Bill, and an Ecclesiastical Courts Bill, No. 2, or Procedure Bill. The second reading of the former was carried without a division, and passed successfully through all its stages in the House of Lords, but was thrown out in the Commons. The fate of the latter is told in the following entry:—

Feb. 20th.—Beaten in House of Lords last night, by 24 to 14, on Bill 2, Ecclesiastical Courts, for admitting laity to prosecute without intervention of the Bishop. Every one, except the Archbishop of Canterbury, deserted me. The Bill was the enactment of one clause,

moved in Committee by Lord Cairns, and supported by Lord Westbury; neither of these was there to vote. Romilly, Master of the Rolls, a great 'professor of aid,' went away; and every Bishop, saving the Primate, was in the majority.

Feb. 24th.—Romilly has written me a kind explanation. Bishop of Peterborough, who moved the rejection of the Bill, had a great victory. . . . Matter was pre-arranged as a party move between the Conservatives and Bishop of Winchester.

The 27th of February was memorable. It was the day of National Thanksgiving for the recovery of the Prince of Wales from the illness which had seriously threatened his life.

On the morning of the day, Lord Shaftesbury wrote to the Countess as follows:—

Lord Shaftesbury to Lady Shaftesbury.

February 27th, 1872.

Half-past seven.

DEAREST MIN,—The day has opened well, blessed be God. No rain, no special fog, and even a faint burst of blue in the sky. If we have a dry day, let us be thankful.

I shall start from here at half-past nine, as the steamboat will leave the Stairs at half-past ten. The Peers and House of Commons may go in 'plain clothes' like detectives. We shall have to walk from St. Paul's Wharf to the Cathedral, and back again; but it will be short, easy, and safe.

Sydney gave me a ticket for Vea.* She was indisposed to go. But she might have accompanied me by water and back again.

Tell Sissey† that her brougham has been of mighty use to me. I have not yet been able to hire horses; and when I sent to Jay's yesterday for a carriage to take me this morning, I learned, to my horror, that every vehicle had been pre-engaged for some weeks.

* His eldest daughter, Lady Templemore.

† His daughter-in-law, wife of the Hon. Evelyn Ashley.

Providentially old Edy * dined here; and with all the grace of condescension, and the due sense of the obligation that property confers, offered his conveyance. He himself, like St. Paul, 'is minded to go afoot.' And he is right, for woe to the 'riders in carriages' who do not start at least four or five hours before the procession. Why, even yesterday I was kept a long while in St. James's Street, though pressed to get to the House of Lords. 'What's all this?' I said to the cab-driver. 'Oh! it's to see them preparations.'

I rejoice in this manifestation of feeling. It is something gathered out of the wreck of all hereditary attachments; and, maybe (God may be merciful to us!) the seed-plot of better things in this ancient kingdom.

There is something, too, in the spectacle of a whole nation not ashamed, in these days, to join in a great national act of religion. In the vast majority there may be no sentiment of the kind, but, at any rate, there is a willing acceptance of it, and not, as there would be in Paris, a satanical rejection of it.

But I must be off. God, in His goodness, protect you all!

S.

The "religious clauses" of the Education Bill brought Lord Shaftesbury an enormous amount of work in the spring of this year. On the 1st of March he presided over an enthusiastic meeting in St. James's Hall, to protest against the proposed exclusion of the Bible from schools. At the May meetings, the Education Act formed the principal topic of his addresses, some of which, from their vehemence, and the divided opinions on the subject, brought him into conflict with friends almost as much as with foes. The effect of the Act on the operations of the Ragged Schools was *the* special "sore point."

It was his natural temperament to take a dark view

* His son, the Hon. Evelyn Ashley.

of things, and, as we shall see by-and-by, the fears he entertained were, to a certain extent, groundless. The old system, to which he was attached, was materially altered, but new developments of the same work took place, and the operations of the Ragged School Union were as successful in the future, although in different ways, as they had been heretofore.

Despite his gloomy apprehensions, he had, even then, many cheering hopes, and we find him writing:—

March 14th.—Ragged School prizes last night. . . . Talk of the 'Real Presence'? Our Lord was as much there last night as at any time or any place. . . .

On the day the entry quoted above was written, he sent the following letter to Lady Shaftesbury:—

Lord Shaftesbury to Lady Shaftesbury.

March 14th, 1872.

DEAREST MIN,—I have just had time to dine on my return from the House of Lords, where I enjoyed four hours on the Ecclesiastical Courts Bill, and I try to write you a short note for to-morrow's post.

Vea has gone to dine with Anne. I, myself, went to the Levée at Buckingham Palace. The Queen received us in person and was gracious. She asked after you, and then I passed on. It was very full, very uninteresting, and the rooms contrasted unfavourably with the Palace at St. James's.

Gigas * was delightful. He came rushing into my room: 'Gran'pa, I want to see you dressed.' 'Very well, so you shall, when my fine things are on.' 'Why do you dress so early?' 'Because the Queen tells us to come early.' Then a thousand questions.

The Dwarf * was very gracious when I went upstairs to see her, and allowed me to kiss both cheeks. You perceive that I have got

* Nicknames he gave to two of his grandchildren, aged five and three respectively.

into the fogrammic period and am passing rapidly into the regions of twaddle.

It is sadly correct: 'Many a true word is spoken in jest.' However, people cannot abuse me much more in my old age than they did in my youth. I am making enemies on all sides; and God, as ever, is my only Friend. Nevertheless, I have the prayers of all the children of poverty and sorrow, and I value them, I cannot find language to say how much, beyond the opinion of all the literary, scientific, political, and social magnates that the world possesses. Love to all. God be with you.

S.

Nearly every day Lord Shaftesbury wrote to the Countess, and, as the Diary suffered in consequence, we insert a few of the letters here:—

Lord Shaftesbury to Lady Shaftesbury.

March 19th, 1872.

DEAREST MIN,—Your letter filled me with terror. God be praised for the better intelligence you have sent to-day.

Sir H. Holland has just been to see me, and ask a question. He is an astounding man for eighty-four years of age. Northbrook called on me to take leave. He had mentioned many Indian subjects a few days ago. He resumed them to-day, and seemed deeply impressed with the weight and greatness of the duties he was about to discharge.

People began their calls, this morning, at ten o'clock. At half-past one I had not had time to shave. I write this hurried note and must go off to Chancery Lane. May God be with you.

S.

Lord Shaftesbury to Lady Shaftesbury.

March 21st, 1872.

DEAREST MIN,— . . . God be praised that Conty is better, as you tell me in your letter of 19th. I entirely approve your precautions, though I trust that they were not quite necessary.

Never mind causing me any distress. Tell me the whole truth, and leave me to supplicate Almighty God.

It is now beginning to snow very hard. I am writing, at one o'clock, by the light of a candle, grateful that I have a roof over my head and a fire to sit by.

I had a very favourable meeting last night at the Artisans' Dwellings Company. There was neither unbelief nor disloyalty manifested; but the reverse. We began with 'Bless the Prince of Wales,' and ended with 'God save the Queen.'

But we had such a piece of music—a sonata, a capriccio, a wild dream—on the pianoforte, by a young lady! I thought that it would never end; so great was its variety of roaring and mewing, enormous thumps on the keys and then almost silence, that we applauded in joy, several times before it was over.

Gigas would insist on seeing my hair cut to-day; but he would not allow his own to be touched. He is wonderfully systematic, and hates change. At breakfast, I gave Sybil her sugar on my right hand, and offered some to Gigas on my left. 'No,' he said, 'on the other side.' He was accustomed to the right; he would not alter, and so round he went.

I am going to have here, to-morrow, a regular tea fight. I have invited sixty heads of missions, in the lower parts of London, to come and give me information respecting the progress of Christianity under those forms. Lots of sandwiches, tea, coffee, cakes, bread and butter, and plenty of speeches. The 'Invites' have made quite a stir: and Spurgeon has written for cards to be sent to two of his friends.

'All seek their own, not the things that are Jesus Christ's.' We are getting worse and worse. It is hazardous to mention the Bible on a platform, lest we should be suspected of aiming at the School-question. I, at least, do not mince matters; and I stand up for God's Word, as the basis of education, wherever I go. I shall soon be 'burked.' Meanwhile, God bless you all.

S.

Lord Shaftesbury to Lady Shaftesbury.

April 12, 1872.

DEAREST MIN,—It is exactly four o'clock, and I am just returned from a meeting in Bermondsey, where I have spent all the morn-

ing. Our weather is fine and warm. Your accounts of Mentone are ravishing; but especially do we rejoice that darling Conty is so often, and so long, in the open air. It will cheer her up and give her hopes. There is yet happiness in store. 'Heaviness may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning.'

As for your recoveries, you want to make out Mentone as 'a pool of Bethesda,' with room for everybody, and some one to put everybody in. Well, it may (God grant it!) do you as much good as others, but never until you shall have really given up the five-o'clock tea, that pernicious, unprincipled, and stomach-ruining habit. You cannot like it 'even medicinally' at that hour.

The last Drawing-room, Sydney tells me, will be on 6th May. Too early, I fear, for you. I want you back. The house needs a little stir.

All is well, God be praised, Gigas, the Dwarf, Rover, Vea, and myself. We went, last night, to Field Lane, to hear the bell-ringers, and also to hear the children sing. It was quite beautiful.

I hope that you will have Azeglio to accompany you homewards. You would have space to lodge him at the Pavilion, should he arrive before you start northwards.

I cannot write more, as the post will be going out. God in heaven be with you! S.

Lord Shaftesbury to Lady Shaftesbury.

April 16, 1872.

DARLING MIN,—You are, I suppose, in great grief to-day—you and my precious Conty—because Hilda, Sissey, and the parrot, are all upon the start. Well, so it is. But, by God's blessing, the separation will be very short, and you will soon meet again, ay, and in Grosvenor Square.

You will find England as restless and troubled as when you left it. Perhaps more so, for new demands are now made, bad principles more openly asserted, and far less vigour in resistance than a year ago. I met an old acquaintance of mine this morning, who had often been a patient in a madhouse. He was very calm and rational, and seemed to think (most justly, by-the-by) that the *inside* of the asylum

was far less 'furious and fatuous,' as the Scotch say, than the outside.

Our weather, for I keep you apprised of all that, is bright and cold. I like it, and feel, God be thanked, very well. I hear of colds, catarrhs, fluxions, rheumatisms, and many kindred ailments, but, as yet, our peaceful domicile is untouched by such plagues, and may it continue so, and thus Conty will arrive at a perfect sanatorium.

Prince Arthur seems to be putting himself forward in a very proper way. He is taking chairs at hospitals, &c. All this is good.

I can tell you very little of society. Vea, perhaps, may be more abundant in such news. We are hearing much of 'agricultural menaces and strikes.' And I see, by one of the papers, that the spirit has crept into the east of Dorset! Turnbull, however, has not mentioned the matter to me, and I should doubt the fact. But, should it be so, it can be neither long nor vigorous. I have urged, for many years, the necessity of abolishing all extras and of paying the labourers in money. The farmers, to do them justice, have not been very hostile. I found more objections among the labourers themselves. Beer, beer, beer has such a charm, and they fancy, while they swill it at harvest, they are drinking it for nothing.

Ah, my dear, these social reforms, so necessary, so indispensable, seem to require as much of God's grace as a change of heart. Reasoning is at a standstill for good. It is singularly active for evil just now.

Love to dear Conty. May you both be blessed in time and in eternity! S.

There were more than ordinary applications to Lord Shaftesbury for "chairs and donations" this year, and people seemed to think he was "the least occupied and the richest man in London." The Factory Acts, the Workshop Acts, the Brickfield Acts were all being violated. Evidence could only be obtained by agency, and agency required time and money. Ecclesiastical questions were growing in number and importance, and

in each fresh controversy he was called upon to take a leading part. To some of these things reference is made in the following extracts from the Diary :—

May 4th.—To-day, meeting at my house, of clergy and one or two laity, to consider Church Reform. Some thirty present, and the whole was in a wise, pious, Christian spirit. Struck amazingly by the testimony of the vicars of great parishes to the aversion of the laity to the public recital of the Creed of St. Athanasius. . . . All, indeed, gave evidence alike. Convocation, however, representing, in fact, neither clergy nor laity, has decided the other way.

May 17th.—St. Giles. . . . Deep in Church Reform ; deep in an endeavour to make the Athanasian Creed no longer an offence. The world is rising against it. And, doubtless, many desire a change in our service, because they hate the Creed itself. But a document, however sublime and true, yet human, must not be forced on unwilling ears. Our Lord Himself gives us a rule, 'I have many things to tell you of, but you cannot bear them now.' So is it with His servants. I have undertaken a daring scheme. Delane has promised me full support. I shall be fiercely assailed.

May 25th.—To-day will appear in *Times* my letter on the Athanasian Creed. I shall need a skin like a rhinoceros to withstand the fury of my enemies, and the 'candour' of my friends.

Among the miscellaneous efforts of the Session were, the seconding of an address of sympathy and condolence to Lady Mayo, in which he paid a graceful tribute to the memory of the Governor-General of India, who was cruelly assassinated on the 6th of February; an able speech in support of Lord Buckhurst's Bill for the Protection of Acrobats and Small Children from the cruelties practised upon them by their employers; as well as incessant work on the Ecclesiastical Courts Bill, and the Ballot Bill, to which we have already referred.

Some of the pleasant incidents of the year are thus referred to :—

Aug. 26th.—The autumn manœuvres in Dorset very successful. Went on Friday to Portman's, who took me to headquarters and the camp. Saw fifteen thousand men in line on Blandford Downs; and heard from Quirk, the rector, that their conduct in a moral point of view had been most excellent. On Saturday, a division nearly ten thousand strong took possession of Bottle-Bush, close by the Saint; everything was order, discipline, and good humour.

27th.—Troops move from St. Giles' to-day. Another corps takes their place. I managed to meet them. Had my poor dear wife been well, we might have shown the officers hospitality. As for the men, I have done my best, giving them the free use of the woods for shelter, the gardens for amusement, and the whole river for bathing. I must run down directly to give them greeting.

31st.—Saw the second army, under Gen. Brownrigg, encamped on my downs; every one in raptures with the country for all purposes. Took the General and his Staff a long ride over Pentridge Hill. He gave me afterwards a parade, sham fight, and march past. Truly magnificent. The second army as noble in every respect as the first.

Sept. 2nd.—Went over to sham fight at Blandford, and other manœuvres—the Duke of Cambridge and Prince of Wales being present. The scene was very grand. . . . . Letter that I had written to the *Times*, and which appeared on Saturday, seems to have given great satisfaction.

Although in some respects Lord Shaftesbury was a proud man, in other respects he had not a particle of pride in him. On the grand occasion of the army encamping on his estate, he set forth in his little open carriage to meet the General and his Staff. On the way he met an old woman hobbling along; he at once stopped, gave her his place in the carriage, and himself mounted the box! In this way he drove up to the spot where he was to be received with all military honours,

as Lord-Lieutenant of the county, in absolute unconsciousness that there was anything singular in the manner of his arrival.

There is evidence in the Diary that a great weight was upon the spirit of Lord Shaftesbury. He was depressed and dejected; an undefined foreshadowing of evil rose "vaporous, like the night mist over meadow lands." He gives no expression to any presentiment; he utters no word of foreboding; and yet, for many months, there are traces of a shrinking from some unknown cup of sorrow awaiting him.

> As the sun,
> Ere it is arisen, sometimes paints its imago
> In the atmosphere, so, often, do the spirits
> Of great events, stride on before the events,
> And in to-day already walks to-morrow.

It was so in Lord Shaftesbury's case, and in nothing was it more plainly expressed than in the exquisite tenderness with which he clung to the warm glowing love of the one who had made his home bright and beautiful for so many years, who had entered with affectionate zeal into all his plans and purposes, and especially those which lay nearest his own heart for the welfare of neglected and desolate little ones; who had stimulated his faith by her own piety; who had smoothed the ruggedness of his path by her own self-sacrifice and self-devotion; and who had been, as he often said, "God's best gift to him." Thus, when he visits Panshanger, her early home, he writes:—

May 28th.—Panshanger. The place is beautiful, but it makes me very melancholy. What changes! how many have passed from

the face of the earth! Not only those who were dear to me, but so many notorious in politics, literature, society. Forty years have passed since I first knew it. The seven first, I lived here, when in the country, almost exclusively. They were happy years, and God knows that my dear and precious wife has done her best to make the end as joyous as the beginning.

On the anniversary of his wedding day, his whole heart is poured out in tender affection, in the following passage:—

June 10th.—To-day my wedding-day! Forty-one years ago was I united to that dear, beautiful, true, and affectionate darling, my blessed Minny. What a faithful, devoted, simple-hearted, and captivating wife she has been, and is, to me! And what a mother! Ah, Lord, give me grace to thank Thee evermore, and rejoice in Thy goodness. Send forth Thy Holy Spirit on us, and lead us yet in the way of service, obedience, and of love! But she is still absent! God, in Thy mercy, bring her home speedily and safely, and with her, my poor, precious, suffering Conty! . . .

That prayer was answered. The mother and daughter returned speedily and safely, but in the face of the invalid the sentence of death was written. It was necessary for her to go almost immediately to Malvern. While there, overstrung by excessive watchfulness and nursing, the health of Lady Shaftesbury gave way. As soon as she was able to bear the journey, she returned to London, where, with her constitutional strength and the change of air, it was thought she would soon be restored to health.

The progress, however, was very slow, and it was advisable that the best medical skill should be sought:—

Sept. 30th.—London. Arrived on Saturday night. To-day Gull has spoken ominously, and talks of hers as a 'grave case.' I am

terrified; and yet I think he has spoken beyond his knowledge. Our only hope now, as ever, is in God. He can bless the art of the physician.

On the 1st of October, Dr. Andrew Clarke was called in; and on the following day, Sir Spencer Wells.

Sometimes a man's character is best revealed by what he says and does in the midst of great crises which touch the very centre of his life. Lord Shaftesbury believed in the power of prayer, and in the affectionate sympathy of the poor; and in the hour of his crushing anxiety he wrote to Mr. Orsman, of the Golden Lane Costers' Mission, thus:—

Lord Shaftesbury to Mr. W. J. Orsman.

September 30th, 1872.

DEAR ORSMAN,—I am writing to you with the very pen my Costermonger friends gave me; it has been, and it will be, I doubt not, of great use to me on many occasions. But now I must ask my excellent brothers and sisters in Golden Lane to aid me by their prayers. My wife and daughter have been very ill; and there is still danger.

I believe much in the prayers of Christian people; and I know that there are many among you—so do not forget me. Our Lord teaches us that there is mighty power in the fervent supplications of the poor. The children, too, must remember me, as I have often remembered them.

May God be with you. SHAFTESBURY.

For some days after this, Lady Shaftesbury appeared to be rapidly regaining health, and on the 14th of October she was able to take the air in a short carriage drive. But in the evening there was a serious relapse, and on the following day—while his heart was breaking—Lord Shaftesbury turned to his Diary, with that

strange instinct which had, all his life, made it to him as a safety-valve for pouring out the pent-up fires of his soul, and wrote:—

Oct. 15th.—Minny, my own Minny, is gone. God took her soul to Himself at about twelve o'clock this morning. She has entered into her rest, and has left us to feel the loss of the purest, gentlest kindest, sweetest, and most confiding spirit that ever lived. Oh, my God, what a blow! But we bow before Thee in resignation and sorrow. Almost her last words were, 'None but Christ, none but Christ.' . . . What a placable spirit! what a power to forgive! and what a sublime power to forget! Somehow or other her heart could not retain the impression of an affront or a harshness. What do I not owe to her, and to Thee, O God, for the gift of her? But now to-night will be a terrible event. For the first time, I must omit in my prayers the name of my precious Minny.

On the 19th of October the remains of Lady Shaftesbury were committed to the grave in the little village church of Wimborne St. Giles. A simple tablet near the family pew bears a tribute "To the Memory of a wife, as good, as true, and as deeply beloved, as God, in His undeserved mercy, ever gave to man."

From Her Majesty the Queen, who wrote a most kind and touching autograph letter, to the humble Ragged School teacher and the illiterate coster, expressions of sympathy poured in upon Lord Shaftesbury. The following is his reply to a letter from his friend Lady Gainsborough:—

Lord Shaftesbury to Lady Gainsborough.

October 24th, 1872.

DEAR LADY GAINSBOROUGH,—I must thank you for your most kind letter. You knew my blessed wife, and she knew you; and I can testify to the real affection she felt for you.

Some people may say that at my time of life I ought not to be grieved. But I cannot help it, and so that I do not sorrow as one without hope and murmur against God's will, there is no sin. I am astounded and dazed to find myself without her. She was my earthly mainstay, and cheered almost every moment of my existence by the wonderful combination of truth, simplicity, joyousness of heart and purity of spirit. She was a sincere, sunny, and gentle follower of our Lord; and almost the last words that fell from her lips were, 'None but Christ.'

During the long space of forty years that God, in His special and undeserved mercy, allowed me to live in union with that inestimable woman, there was an increase and no abatement of love on either side. And now that He has taken her, I must believe that it is a continuance and not a withdrawal of His mercy; and I bow before Him with reverential gratitude for His past goodness.

Nevertheless, it is a tremendous blow, and one particularly so to the daughters she has left behind her. Cecil feels it with singular keenness. But all have been sustained, and above all Couty, the suffering one, by God's grace.

May He ever be with you and yours, my dear friend, for our blessed Saviour's sake.

Your's very sincerely,

SHAFTESBURY.

When the devoted mother, who had watched her suffering child with unwearying solicitude, was called away, it seemed impossible that Lady Constance Ashley could survive the shock. But she rallied, and then her only hope of recovery, the physicians said, was on the shores of the Mediterranean, beneath the shelter of those rocks that shut out the northern blasts, and where, on former occasions, she had found the bright sunshine of summer in the time of winter.

It would be irreverent to add a single word to the simple and touching beauty of the following narrative :—

Oct. 26th.—Mentone, Mentone, say the doctors; but how get her there? How find her strength for the long and fatiguing journey? How get her across the water in wind and rain? We are painfully harassed. God be gracious to us, and shine upon us, and open a way for our escape. O Christ, hear me! . . .

Nov. 1st.—To St. Giles on 1st for business, sad, solitary, and silent. . . . When dark, crept into the church, and prayed to God in peace, though not in happiness, near her dear resting-place. . . .

Nov. 13th.—Mentone. Journey very tedious and very sorrowful. Arrived here still more sorrowful. I could admire nothing, enjoy nothing, for she was not here to share it with me. ' Conty well, and not tired. If the Lord will, I must live for her sake. How sad, how forlorn, how isolated, in her sick state! No attention, no kindness, no sympathy of any relative can approach that of a mother—and such a mother. But let us give God true and everlasting praise that He has so touched her heart by His holy spirit as to make her resigned, meek, patient in tribulation, rejoicing in hope, and full of faith. She looks to heaven and sees her blessed mother there, and not in the cold and silent grave.

Dec. 1st.—Sunday. More than a week to-day of deep anxiety. Conty, my blessed Conty, attacked by inflammation of the liver. The fever now gone, by God's mercy, but the weakness is terrible. The precious child is ripe for heaven—resigned, meek, patient, loving, and full of faith in her adorable Saviour. And yet my flesh cries, Stay, stay, stay. Not so she; she is ready, nay almost desirous to be gone.

Dec. 6th.—At no time so deep the sensation of being left alone as at sunset. But the promise of our Lord, and the enjoined prayer, 'Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly,' reunite us. How do I bless His holy name that He had put it into her dear heart thus to pray!

Dec. 12th.—How wonderful, and how solitary, as I look at the setting sun, and remember that my Min, my precious Min, is gone from me—never to return! But may I not say, and hope, with David, 'I shall go to her, though she will not return to me?' Blessed, dearest, truest, tenderest of women! God's precious and most merciful gift to me.

Dec. 16th.—At half-past one this day God took the soul of my blessed Conty to Himself. Never was a death so joyous, so peaceful. Heaven itself seemed opened before her eyes. 'Christ is very near

me,' she said, and when I reminded her of her mother's favourite line, 'Simply to Thy Cross I cling,' she expanded her hands, her whole face beamed with the liveliest, happiest smile I ever saw, and she inclined her head towards me in assent quite exulting. What an end! How certain her eternal bliss. How certain the wish of her heart to join her precious mother! It is almost impossible to weep even for ourselves, when we think of it; so truly blessed is her state, so wonderful her departure from this world. But, O God, to us, what a loss? and specially to Hilda and Cecil; what a loss! my God, have mercy upon them. They are young, and I am old.

Dec. 18th.—Preparing for departure as soon as possible. God grant to-morrow. It is a beautiful place, and I wish the people every blessing. But I return with joy. And yet it is endeared to me because Minny and Conty loved it. . . .

Half-an-hour or more before her death, she became suddenly quite herself, as in days of strength and of joy. She sat up in bed, her face was radiant with inward pleasure, she spoke to every one around. 'Dearest papa,' said the blessed child, 'Do not give way.' 'I want to bless you now for all that you have taught me.' Darling girl, she taught me, in one half-hour, more than I had imparted in her whole life. Cecil, not knowing it to be a text of special charm to her, said, 'To me to live is Christ, and to die is gain.' 'Oh yes, oh yes,' she replied, all beaming with delight, 'thank you, thank you.' Then it was that I quoted her mother's song, 'Simply to Thy Cross I cling,' and then it was that she seemed to be already an angel. Soon after she exclaimed, 'I know that I am going to die, for I feel so happy.' With these words she fell into a soft sleep. In a short time she was gone; and no one could mark the moment of departure. 'I have seen many death-beds of holy Christian people,' said the nurse; 'but I have never seen anything approaching to this. I can only call it angelic.' And so it was. And were there not angels present? Might they not have waited to carry her, as they carried Lazarus? Was her blessed mother there? Was our own most dear Lord far off? She said 'Christ is very near,' she must, I think, have perceived something that we did not.

I will ever maintain that this was a striking and special mercy vouchsafed by Almighty God, not only to mitigate our sorrow, but positively to raise us into joy. Neither speech nor writing can

adequately describe what it was. The sudden change was like a resurrection; she seemed, as it were, inspired, and it is no exaggeration to say that, with the calmness of Heaven around her, her face actually shone. O merciful and Heavenly Father, may our souls, washed and purified by the all-atoning blood of Thy dear Son our Saviour, myself and my children, who yet survive, be found at last in Thy adorable presence with my beloved wife and beloved daughter, Thine own inestimable gifts, to dwell with Thee in safety, and in peace for ever and for ever. And, O God, may I pray that our other blessed and pious children, gone before us, Francis, Maurice, and Mary, may be with us, for truly did they love Thee and Thy blessed Son.

Dec. 28th.—London. Yesterday consigned to the grave, in the vault at St. Giles's, the remains of my precious beloved angelic daughter. The day dark and gloomy; but as we started on the procession the sun came out, like a smile from Heaven, and retired again when all was over. Whether special or not, I bless God for the cheerful sign.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1873—1875.

The Discipline of Suffering—Watercress and Flower Girls Mission—"Emily" Loan Fund—Temperance Movement—A Moderate Drinker—A good old Custom—Evils of Intemperance—Charity Organisation Society—Mr. Plimsoll and British Seamen—A Scene in the House—Letter to Mr. Plimsoll—Dr. McIvaine, Bishop of Ohio—Church Reform—Window Gardening and Flower Shows for the Poor—Lines by Dean Stanley—Facilities of Worship Bill—The Confessional in the Church of England—Great Meeting in Exeter Hall—Death of Bishop Wilberforce—In the Twilight—Scotland—State of the Church—Public Worship Regulation Bill—Elections under the Ballot—Strauss—Among the Costers—Return of Mr Evelyn Ashley for Poole—A Revivalist Preacher—Church Congress at Brighton—Sanitary and Social Questions—Weary of Controversy—Messrs. Moody and Sankey—At the Agricultural Hall—Shaftesbury Park Estate—Artisans' Dwelling Company—Urged to Visit America—Master and Servant—Factory System in India.

"NOTHING can happen to a man—no loss, no tribulation—which may not leave him stronger, better, more full of spiritual resources than it found him, if only he has made sure of God, and of the perfect ends towards which, alone and for ever, God conducts His own." * Such was the effect of the discipline of suffering on Lord Shaftesbury. He was cast down, but not destroyed; and within three months of the time when the grave closed over his beloved ones, he was again in the midst of his old work, toiling with a vigour that had never been surpassed. "Tribulation worketh experience," and to the poor, the suffering,

* "The Discipline of Suffering." Rev. Jas. Durran, M.A.

and the sad, he went forth from his own grief with a heart overflowing with sympathy, and powers wakened into fresh activity, consecrated afresh by sorrow. For the next few years his energy was little short of marvellous; there seemed to be no limit to his endurance; every hour of every day, and almost every minute of every hour, had its pre-arranged duty. The sense that the night was coming when no man can work, made vivid to him constantly by the memory of his bereavements, spurred him on to new endeavours. The mere bodily fatigue involved in constant journeyings, in monotonous "chairs" for three, five, or six hours a day; the perambulations among the dwellings of the poor; the consequent irregularity in his hours for meals and rest; the early mornings and late nights; all these things would have taxed the vigour of a young man in the early prime of life, but in a man who had passed the allotted threescore years and ten, whose health was shattered, and whose nervous system was overstrained, such labours were truly marvellous.

If we only glance at some of them in passing, it is because they were continuations and extensions of earlier efforts; or new schemes closely allied to old ones. It will only be to those which broke up fresh ground that we shall particularly refer.

One of his first efforts, after his bereavement, was to establish in connection with the "Watercress and Flower Girls Mission" a fund, named, in memory of his wife, the "Emily Loan Fund," to enable this strange race of beings, of whose existence every one is

aware, but of whose hard battle with life very few know anything, to earn their living when watercress and flowers are out of season. No description can convey an idea of the dire distress experienced by these poor creatures when the cold weather sets in and the sources of their incomes fail. The question how to help them in their necessity was decided by this Fund. Lord Shaftesbury placed in the hands of the Committee of the Mission a sum of money from which deserving applicants might draw, to enable them to purchase stock-in-trade for the winter. Thus, one poor woman would make application for the loan of a baked-potato oven, a coffee-stall, a barrow and board for the sale of whelks, or any other article by which she might see a reasonable prospect of earning a living. The condition upon which the loans were granted was, that borrowers must find security for the full value of the article borrowed, thereby protecting the Fund from loss, and giving the best guarantee of the honesty and industry of the borrower. When the actual value of the article was repaid, it became the property of the hirer. During the period this fund has been in operation the rule as to security has been strictly enforced, and "it has not debarred half-a-dozen deserving cases from the advantage of the Fund." It has been of constant occurrence that ladies and gentlemen of good position, who have observed the industry and perseverance of the deserving poor for many years in the same locality, and who would not have hesitated to have lent the money themselves, have preferred to let it come through

the Society, and have stood security for the sums required.

Lord Shaftesbury took a deep interest in the working of this scheme, and many a touching story he could tell of the lives of the poor creatures it had benefited. This is how he spoke of the Mission and the "Emily Loan Fund" to the writer:—

"I believe that among these watercress girls there are many as honest and as pure as are to be found in all London. Those who are successful go into business; often buy a coffee-stall, the outfit for which costs as much as £10.

"I was one day at the office with Groom.* A nice-looking girl came in. "'I want a loan, please, of a very large sum.' "'What for, my dear?' "'For flowers and basket.' "'Have you anything in the world?' "'Not a sixpence.' "'Can you give security?' "'Oh, yes! the shoemaker's wife will go bail for me.' "'How much do you want?' "'Well, I don't think I can do with a penny less than £1.' It was given, and every farthing repaid. Of all the movements I have ever been connected with, I look upon this Watercress Girl Movement as the most successful. The girls appear in different forms at different seasons. Fruit girls in summer, flower girls in spring, coffee-stall keepers in winter. The whole is established on a system of loans, and is the most successful system I have ever known. It was begun in 1872, and we have had out 800 to 1,000 loans, and have not lost £50

* Mr. J. A. Groom, the Honorary Superintendent of the Mission.

during the whole period. Not in one solitary instance have we had to recover by legal means. Amounts are lent, up to £2, generally about £1, and they repay weekly, from 6d. to 1s. a week, and most precise and punctual are they in their repayments. What has been lost, and it has been very little in the circumstances, has been by reason of death or sickness, and not by fraud."

The first public labours referred to in the Diary for this year are the following:—

March 4th.—Went on Feb. 14th to Stepney, for great meeting of working men, and opening of a temperance public-house. And also, at earnest request of the Lord Mayor, to move Resolution at Mansion House fixing day of Hospital Sunday. On 28th, went with Orsman, through Golden Lane, to visit my Costermongers. Well do these poor people put us all to shame. Piety, resignation, faith, in the depths of penury, and seemingly without hope.

In the extract given above Lord Shaftesbury refers to his first direct effort on behalf of the Teetotal movement, if taking the chair at one of Mr. J. B. Gough's orations in 1860 be excepted. Although he never lost an opportunity of enforcing temperance, and spoke strongly upon the effects of drunkenness, he was not himself, at any period of his life, a total abstainer. "I am worse than a drunkard," he would say, playfully, "I am a moderate drinker." On one occasion, speaking at a banquet, he said:—

I have seen much of these public festivals, and I know the unanimity and good feeling which they create; I know the harmony they produce; I know how many prejudices have been removed, and

how many quarrels and animosities have been made up by meeting at the convivial dinner-table. And I know a very old custom, which seems to have been going out of late, but which I am glad to see is being revived—the custom of drinking a glass of wine with your fellow man. It is one of the wisest institutions which appears to have been framed for conviviality, and for promoting good feeling one towards another; it is framed in the highest system of policy. I have known many a quarrel made up between men who had not exchanged words for years, but who, meeting at the dinner-table, and one asking the other to take a glass of wine with him, they had become friends to the hour of their death. Therefore, I say, never give up this convivial system, only take it, like you should every other means of enjoyment, in moderation.*

On the other hand, he often spoke emphatically on the evils of intemperance. Thus he says :—

I remember being examined before a Committee of the House of Commons, as chairman of the Lunacy Commissioners, as to the progress or non-progress of insanity in these realms. I told them that I believed that seven-tenths of the insanity that prevails in this country, that seven-tenths of the insanity that prevails in the United States of America, and no doubt also in other countries, are attributable, either in the persons themselves or in their parents, to habits of intoxication. If the Temperance Associations had not arisen some years since, I believe the amount of insanity in this country would be five-fold greater than it is.

On the 20th of March, there is an entry in the Diary, "Moved first resolution at Anniversary of the Charity Organisation Society." This was another "first work" on behalf of a Society which Lord Shaftesbury assisted in many ways in subsequent years, and with which, although not agreeing with some of its operations, he was never in any way brought into conflict or antagonism

* Dorset County Friendly Society, June 11th, 1868.

at any time. He admired the vigilance with which they prosecuted inquiries and "ferreted out" fraud and imposture; their success in abolishing abuses, and in setting up useful institutions; but he feared that the Society would never be popular, inasmuch as it acted, in his opinion, with too great severity, and arrogated to itself the function of being able to do everything. He had taken a deep interest in the Old Mendicity Society, and was wont to say that the success of the Charity Organisation Society would be greater than it has been, if, with its vaster machinery, it would work more upon the basis of its predecessor.

Public feeling was much agitated in the early part of this year, by the revelations made by Mr. Plimsoll, M.P. for Derby, as to the perils of British seamen, consequent upon the overloading of ships, and the use of unseaworthy vessels. It was a cause which at once enlisted the sympathies of Lord Shaftesbury, who was desirous to extend to seamen the protection enjoyed by miners, colliers, factory children, and emigrants. He became chairman of the Committee for supporting Mr. Plimsoll to obtain, at once, a Protection Act, pending the Inquiry of the Royal Commission, and presided at a great public meeting held at Exeter Hall, on March 22nd, to protest against the iniquitous system Mr. Plimsoll had exposed. Referring to it he says:—

March 24th.—On Saturday evening, meeting in Exeter Hall, of London workmen to support Plimsoll in his glorious defence of the wretched, oppressed seamen of the Mercantile Marine. Very

full, singularly enthusiastic, and yet prudent and judicious. Myself in chair. . . .

Like other men smarting under a burning sense of cruelty and injustice unredressed, Mr. Plimsoll was hurried into saying injudicious things, and doing injudicious acts. As chairman of his Committee, Lord Shaftesbury found himself involved in many difficulties, but, in the midst of good and evil report, he stood by him to the end. Thus he writes :—

April 22nd.—I find him bold, earnest, and rash. He will ruin himself and the cause by his violence. He says what he believes, and believes what he says, and he will take no man's advice. He is proud of his own impetuosity, and seems to think that no one can be weary of it. His great and true facts will all be neutralised by his small and inaccurate statements. . . .

April 25th.—Plimsoll, worthy man, is growing wiser—but it is too late. The explanation that would have satisfied Norwood, the prosecutor, before the matter went into Court, must now be a public retractation, and, probably, with payment of costs. This is very sad. . . .

Eventually the Merchant Shipping Bill was brought forward, but, on July 22nd, 1875, Mr. Disraeli intimated that it was not the intention of the Government to proceed further with the measure that year. This was more than Mr. Plimsoll, whose whole heart and soul were in the movement he had so enthusiastically espoused, could bear. Addressing the Prime Minister, he implored him not to send thousands of men to certain death by withdrawing the measure. Then, carried away by excitement, he walked up the floor to the table of the House, and, pointing to the opposition

benches, cried, "I will unmask the villains who have sent brave men to death." A week was given to Mr. Plimsoll to express his regret for "having transgressed the orders of the House."

On the following day Lord Shaftesbury wrote to him as follows:—

Lord Shaftesbury to Mr. S. Plimsoll, M.P.

July 23rd, 1875.

My dear Mr. Plimsoll,—As Chairman of your Committee from the commencement, I may express my deep and heartfelt sympathy with you. I can enter into all your indignation and your fears. Language would fail me to describe the wickedness and folly of giving preference to the Agricultural Holdings Bill, over yours—for yours it is—that affects the lives of so many men and the happiness of so many families. But, as you have often listened to me before, pray listen to me now.

I earnestly counsel you to appeal in the presence of the House and maintain your statements to the full, but express regret that, under the great excitement into which you fell, you offended against the rules and orders laid down for the government of debate. Such a course will prove a real benefit to yourself and to the cause you have in hand. You know how truly I share all your hopes and fears in this matter, and how earnestly I pray God to bless and sustain one who has urged it with so much nobleness and sincerity.

Yours truly,

Shaftesbury.

Mr. Plimsoll accepted the advice, and, at the expiration of a week, appeared in the House, and in "no grudging spirit, but frankly and sincerely," apologised to the Speaker and the House.

Lord Shaftesbury's watchfulness over his friend did

not cease here, and there are many indications of the help and counsel he gave him—such as the following :—

July 30th.—Good deal of negotiation with Plimsoll—I find him reasonable, honest, and self-denying—but I dread his impetuosity; and the efforts of men in the House, who, evidently, are seeking to goad him into another excitement. Have persuaded him not to go to the House, but to intrust his amendment to Mr. Reed. Many M.P.'s concurred with me.

In 1876, the Merchant Shipping Bill, designed "to mitigate avoidable dangers without unnecessarily hampering commercial enterprise," passed into law.

Death was busy among Lord Shaftesbury's friends in the spring of this year, and we find him on a day in April acting as pall-bearer, at the pre-funeral service, in Westminster Abbey, of his invaluable and sympathetic friend of over thirty years' standing, Dr. McIlvaine, Bishop of Ohio, one of the pillars of the American Episcopal Church; and, on a day in May, at a funeral service at St. Jude's, Islington, of the Rev. W. Pennefather, "one of the best men God ever sent on earth."

As the May Meetings approached, there was none to which Lord Shaftesbury looked forward with greater anxiety this year than that of the Church Pastoral Aid Society. In a letter to Mr. Haldane, he says :—

Previously to passing into the regions of twaddle not far distant, I long to deliver my soul on Church Reform.

But my views are very broad, very unpalatable, and without support from anyone.

They will give great offence. Yet I cannot remain at the head of Church Societies, and conceal them. I propose to speak out

openly at the P.A.S., and then retire from the Presidentship, saying that, with such opinions, I ought not to occupy a post which ought to be filled by a person in harmony with those he represents.

The important speech of Lord Shaftesbury at the meeting of the Pastoral Aid Society was exactly what he had intended it to be, a plain statement of the Church Reforms he considered indispensable. It provoked much controversy, as he anticipated. The following is an extract from his speech :—

It would, I believe, be very difficult to bring any three persons to agree as to the expediency of Church Reform; and still more difficult to get them to agree as to what that Reform should be. And yet nothing can be more necessary. If the Church is to be saved, she must be adapted to the temper and wants of the people. And this must be done in a very effectual way—it must be done in accordance with what Lord Strafford said to Archbishop Laud, when he wrote, 'My Lord, it must be thorough.' . . .

We must contend for a careful, but efficient, reform of the Liturgy of the Prayer Book. There are many things in the Liturgy which seem almost inspired. The Liturgy breathes, in the main, something Divine; it goes to the very hearts of the people; a very few eliminations would remove what is objectionable, and, if these were made, there would not be a religious man in the country who, whatever might be his denomination, could not take the Prayer Book to his inmost heart.

The patronage of livings.—A reform, or an attempt at reform, of that, must likewise follow. That system is faulty, no doubt, nevertheless, I am quite sure that any attempt to substitute some other system for that which exists, would only tend to make matters worse. Yet it must not be passed over. For my own part I am prepared to go into the whole question, and, having a certain number of livings at my disposal, I am prepared to submit them to any arrangement that might be likely to do good; but there are two changes to which I should strongly object—first, that appointments to livings should be made a matter for popular election; and secondly —tell it not in Gath!—that they should be given to the bishops.

The next thing which I would say is—I hope the clergy present will not take alarm, as I have on my side the authority of Archbishop Usher and Archbishop Leighton *—that I am satisfied that if you desire to accommodate your action to the feelings and wants of the country, you must alter the basis of Ordination, the system of administering Ordination, and admitting men to Holy Orders; in other words, you must take this power away from the bishops exclusively, and call in the co-operation of the presbytery. Such a course was recommended by Archbishops Usher and Leighton, and, I am sure, nothing would tend more to induce great numbers of people to join our Church than the putting an end to a state of things under which Ordination is left in the hands of a single individual. . . .

Then there is another question—the increase of the Episcopate. Now I, once for all, protest against the increase of the Episcopate without some other and very material changes. I am not such a lover of Episcopacy as to think it necessary to salvation. If, however, people desire an increase of the Episcopate, it is to be had by the sub-division of dioceses and the revenues into two, so that there would be forty-eight bishops instead of twenty-four. The carrying such a proposal into effect might involve—I will not deny it—a great and mighty change; it might involve as much as the removal of the bishops from the House of Lords, a respect being had, of course, to life interests. I know perfectly well the danger that would attend such a movement as that; I know perfectly well the danger to which the House of Lords itself would be exposed. You cannot attempt to repair an old edifice without endangering the whole fabric, and therefore this is, of course, a matter which requires to be contemplated very seriously. But our duty at the present moment is to consider the safety of the Church of England, and not how to perpetuate the House of Lords. The House may not stand; but if it does stand, it will stand on its own merits, and not necessarily through its connection with the Episcopal Bench.

There are many other reforms. I have indicated only a few, but I have said enough to show my great object, that the Church should

* See also The Rubric on "The Form and Manner of Ordering Priests," where "*the priests present*," are associated with the Bishop in the imposition of hands.

be made acceptable to the great body of the people. I have no doubt that many of you will look upon me as a most revolutionary man; but such changes as I have suggested are things which prevent revolutions, and learned writers maintain that half the Revolutions which have occurred in the world, have occurred because those who foresaw them could not make up their minds to meet them by necessary changes.

Referring in his Diary to this speech Lord Shaftesbury says:—

May 9th.—Some were pleased, some alarmed, and all astounded. I spoke, however, the result of convictions, and God, in His mercy, sustained me. My propositions are, no doubt, large, sweeping, with a certain amount of hazard. But less than this will not bring with it one element of safety. At the ensuing elections, if the Church be assailed, the country will give no response of defence, except in support of a very vigorous and popular measure.

But such expressions from the President of a Society tend to compromise that Society and make it incur the peril of a great loss of moral and financial succour. Wrote, therefore, instantly, and gave in my resignation of the office, thus sparing the Committee a thousand disagreeables of various kinds.

It is hardly necessary to say that the Committee of the Society did not accept the resignation.

One of the most pleasing of the many side-efforts of the Ragged School movement, was the cultivation of plants and flowers, under given regulations, by the scholars; and, at a fixed time, the whole being gathered into a Show, tested, and prizes awarded.

The advantages of these Flower Shows in a social aspect were many. They provided a source of simple recreation, and gave a new interest in home, by adding unwonted cheerfulness to the comfortless rooms of the poor. They became the means of drawing attention to some of the social wants of the working classes, such

as the need of fresh air and ventilation and more space. They taught them simple habits of forethought and prudence, for if they would win the prizes, they must purchase their plants long beforehand, and expend money and time on what might only be a probability of success. Their chief good was, that in watching the growth and progress of the flowers under their care, the children and their parents were brought into close contact with something pure and innocent and beautiful, —something that should speak to the better part of their natures, and tell them of Him who has made the earth beautiful and fair.

It seemed almost incredible that many of the plants and flowers exhibited at these Shows, were reared and watched and tended in some close garret, or cellar, by the little ragged urchins who, a short time before, were whining in the streets for alms.

There was something pathetic in the appearance of many of the flowers; some of them "had not the slightest pretension to beauty; some appeared to have had a terrible struggle to present even a decent appearance; others were in the last stage of a galloping consumption. Yet all, it was reported, had been tended with even too much care, amidst the most blighting influences and untoward circumstances." *

From the first, Lord Shaftesbury took the warmest interest in this branch of work. "I believe there is nothing among the secondary means of instruction," he said, "to surpass window gardening and flower culture.

* *Ragged School Union Magazine.*

It has called out all the various qualities of attention and care, and it has improved their knowledge of sacred and holy things."

For many years Lord Shaftesbury had given away the prizes at the annual Flower Show in Dean's Yard, Westminster, under the auspices of the Society for Promoting Window Gardening, of which Dean Stanley was president. The flowers, humble and simple enough, breathed whispers of strange histories. Some were reared, in furtive hours, in crowded slums; some were tended by the poor sufferers in Westminster Hospital; some came from the workhouse, and many from the parochial, national, infant, Sunday, and ragged schools; some from the kitchens of domestic servants and the quiet homes of working people.

Those Flower Show days in Dean's Yard were always happy days to Lord Shaftesbury, who entered into the spirit of the festival just as heartily as did his good friend Dean Stanley.

Another of the great benefits of these Shows was, that they brought together those who, from social distinction, rarely met, and so knew little of each other, and the sympathy thus shown by the rich to the poor evoked a very kindly spirit. Lord Shaftesbury frequently related, with infinite pleasure, a little incident that occurred on one occasion at the distribution of prizes in Dean's Yard, illustrating the love and confidence thus generated. "As I was mixing among the people, I felt a little hand playing with mine, and a little girl looked up in my face and said, 'Please, sir, may I give

you a kiss?' I said, 'I am sure you may, my dear, and I'll give you one too.' Do you think then I did not say, 'What would London be without her children?'"

This sorrowful year, Lord Shaftesbury wrote to Canon Conway, with whom the arrangements rested, saying that he had better find some new and younger Chairman for the Annual Flower Show in Dean's Yard, and adding that he was in the condition of a tree which, as Lucan says, "casts a shadow, no longer with its leaves, but only by its stem." He sent the note to Dean Stanley, who returned it with the following verses:—

'TRUNCO, NON FRONDIBUS, EFFICIT UMBRAM.'
Well said old Lucan—Often have I seen
A stripling tree, all foliage and all green;
But not a hope of grateful, soothing shade,
Its empty strength in fluttering leaves displayed.
Give me the solid trunk, the aged stem,
That rears its scant, but glorious, diadem;
That thro' long years of battle or of storm,
Has striven whole forests round it to reform;
That plants its roots too deep for man to shake;
That lifts its head too high for grief to break;
That still, thro' lightning-flash and thunder-stroke,
Retains its vital sap and heart of oak;
Such gallant tree for me shall ever stand,
A great rock's shadow in a weary land.

May, 1873. A. P. S.

Against the original Lord Shaftesbury wrote, "I knew that the Dean was very kindly disposed towards me. But I did not know how kindly. S."

Lord Shaftesbury withdrew his appeal, and attended the Show. In concluding his speech, he made use of the beautiful expression that "The great and final

Garden of Paradise was only to be approached through the Garden of Gethsemane."

When he had uttered these words, a voice cried out from the crowd, "That is the best thing you have said." Whose voice it was, or what influence the words spoken had upon the man, we do not know, but there was probably a story attaching to the utterance, for Lord Shaftesbury pasted the report of the affair in a book, and against the words, in his own handwriting, is this note: "I thank God that He permitted me to say it."

"The Facilities of Worship Bill," promoted by Mr. Beresford Hope, proposed in the House of Lords by Lord Carnarvon, and supported by the Episcopal vote, was defeated by Lord Shaftesbury. It proposed that a bishop, on the request of twenty-five parishioners, was to have authority to license buildings for public worship without the consent of the rector. Lord Shaftesbury's objection was, that this was placing too much power in the hands of the bishops.

"

27th.—Last night a great success in House of Lords; God gave it to feeble efforts—praised be His holy name—in answer to prayer. Defeated Lord Carnarvon on second reading of Facilities of Worship Bill. Twelve bishops voted with him. . . .

This was Lord Shaftesbury's principal movement in Ecclesiastical matters in Parliament this year. Out of doors, however, there were many allied subjects pressing upon his attention, and especially that of the Confessional.

A petition, signed by 400 clergymen, had been presented to the Upper House of Convocation, praying—

"That in view of the wide-spreading and increasing use of sacramental confession, your Venerable House may consider the advisability of providing for the education, selection, and licensing of duly qualified confessors, in accordance with the provisions of canon law."

The matter was discussed, and referred to a Committee.

But the fact of the presentation of such a petition roused the indignation of all good Protestants, and, of course, an appeal was made to Lord Shaftesbury to take the lead in the agitation. He wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury saying that the laity were in great alarm; that they turned in the first instance to their natural protectors, the Bishops of the Established Church; and requested His Grace to be good enough to tell him what was the intention of the Episcopal Bench before taking any forward step. The Archbishop replied courteously that the matter had been considered by the bishops, who had since gone to their dioceses, and would not meet again until early in the month of July. To this Lord Shaftesbury rejoined that it was not for him to canvass the conduct of the bishops, who had doubtless excellent reasons for deferring the question till July, but that the laity and the clergy could not accept that as a comfortable assurance, and he must not consider them precipitate if they proceeded at once to action, and took the matter into their own hands.

Accordingly a "public meeting of Churchmen, loyal to the principles of the Reformation," was called for the 30th of June, at which Lord Shaftesbury presided. It

was a crowded and enthusiastic meeting, and he spoke with a warmth and energy which aroused a perfect *furore*, and was interrupted from time to time by loud and ringing cheers.

He condemned, in no measured terms, the Upper House of Convocation, a professedly Protestant body of bishops, for ever receiving such a petition;—it should have been sent back as an insult to God's Holy Word and the truth of the Divine sacraments; instead of which, it was read and discussed in "soft, delicate, and apathetic language." He then proceeded to show the nature of the Confessional, and to give some startling descriptions of the system, as narrated by M. Michelet in a work entitled "Priests, Women, and Families."

It was one of the strongest speeches Lord Shaftesbury ever uttered, and it was received with extraordinary enthusiasm, the whole audience rising and cheering vociferously for a prolonged period as he concluded his peroration with the words, "Perish all things, so that Christ be magnified."

Reference is made to the Anti-Confessional meeting in the following extract from the Diary:—

July 1st.—Last night great meeting in Exeter Hall, myself in the chair, for an Anti-Confessional movement. It was signally successful. The enthusiasm prodigious, and sustained to the very last. I had, wonderful to say, an opportunity of bringing out and applying the sentence that, by God's grace, has been so long on my heart, and which I and my precious Minny so often exchanged, 'Perish all things, so that Christ be magnified.' I bless Thee, O Lord. . . .

The sad and sudden death of Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Winchester, with whom for many years Lord

Shaftesbury had been brought, in a variety of ways, into opposition, is thus referred to in the Diary :—

July 20th.—Sunday. Just received intelligence of the death of the Bishop of Winchester; absolutely thunder-struck with amazement and terror. 'So teach us, Lord, to number our days, that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom.' Thrown from his horse yesterday, he broke his neck. God be with us. 'We know not what an hour may bring forth.'

'Betwixt the stirrup and the ground,
He mercy asked, he mercy found.'

In a letter to Mr. Haldane, written on the same day, he says :—

"This event came on me like an earthquake. I was all but horror-struck. Every kind feeling I ever had towards the Bishop is again alive. He was neither covetous nor hard, and he oftentimes stood forward in the defence of the oppressed."

Throughout the year—and for many years afterwards—there are, in the midst of the record of ceaseless activities, some very touching passages, which show how keen was the struggle against abandoning himself to his sorrows, and how vividly, at all times and in every place, he was alive to the tremendous loss he had sustained.

April 1st.—They are never out of my mind, hardly out of sight; as the days lengthen the solitude seems to increase. Even in my youth, a fine summer's evening had ever the effect of melancholy over my heart. It has continued through manhood, but not a sorrowful melancholy, rather the occasion to a prayer for the Second Advent. But now the setting sun and the long twilight will make me feel their absence still more. Quicken it, O Lord, into a warmer supplication for Thy blessed Coming! . . .

April 10th.—St. Giles's. The place is solitary and sad; the charm

of one to share it with me is gone. But God is wise and good. . . . Blessed, precious wife, some of thy last words, spoken in health and happiness, while the shadow of death was not even before thine eyes, spoken in sorrow of some infidel and cruel expressions, 'And this, too, when He died for us!' They rejoiced me then—they now ring like music in my ears. 'The name of Jesus,' said old Leighton, 'is fragrant.'

April 14th.—Her loss is more and more keen every day. God alone knows what I feel and suffer. May He watch over and subdue me!

Oct. 12th.—Sunday. . . . Shall I never see her again, O Lord, that sweetest, dearest, most precious of women? Surely there will be recognition; surely a reunion of love. God knows, and He is both wise and good, and tenderly considerate. Perhaps she and my darling Conty are much nearer than I suppose. Perhaps they see me, watch over me, and pray for me. We cannot pray to saints in heaven. Both Scripture and reason forbid it. But neither one nor the other forbids me to believe that the blessed in heaven may pray for the struggling on earth—nay, they rather bid us to do so. The highest duty and the richest enjoyment is in the imitation of our Lord. He is ever interceding for those that He loves; and why not, in a far lower degree, the departed spirits for those they have left on earth? . . .

May 25th.—Sunday. Last night, as I went to bed, the recollection of my precious Minny's words rose in my mind: 'O Lamb of God, I come'—and then, like lightning, the words of our Blessed Lord: 'Him that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out.' The joy and comfort unspeakable. I thank Thee, O Lord. . . .

In August, a tour in Scotland was most beneficial to the health and spirits of Lord Shaftesbury. He visited Iona and Staffa; landed in the Isle of Rum, where "a minister of religion comes to visit the twenty or thirty families there, three times a year, and other comforters, never," and where, so far as he could learn, there was not a book on the island. Thence he proceeded to Stornoway, along the whole eastern side of

Lewis and Harris, "wild and inhospitable, and without a trace of life;" then driven by wind and rain to Portree, and when fine weather came, along the coasts of Skye, Inverness, and Argyleshire, back to his favourite headquarters, Wemyss Castle, the home of his old friends, Mr. and Mrs. Burns, with whom so many happy days of his life were associated.

Other pleasant cruises were taken, and places of interest visited. "A happy and healthy time at Ochtertyre," he notes; "here again, after an interval of fifty-three years! first came in 1820, year of Queen's trial, with my college and life-long friend, George Howard,* now, I trust, in Heaven."

It was not until the end of the month that Lord Shaftesbury left his hospitable friends:—"We have stayed here very long, in the enjoyment of unbounded kindness. Our home, now solitary, without the light and life of my blessed and beloved Minny, did not, as heretofore, call us away."

It was always with regret that he tore himself away from Wemyss Castle. "Its external and internal charms are alike and equal. Nature is rarely so beautiful as here, and society rarely so kind. May every blessing of time and of eternity descend on this family, on them, on theirs, on old Abraham and Sarah,† and on all they love in Christ Jesus."

From Wemyss Castle he proceeded to Belfast,

* Afterwards Earl of Carlisle and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

† Familiar names given to the father and mother of Mr. John Burns, both of them patriarchal in age.

making his first sojourn in Ireland, and, after a few brief visits, went on to Dunbrody, the home of his daughter and Lord Templemore. "It is a comfort to be here, and talk over 'the blessed ones' now gone to their rest." On the 19th of September he left Dublin—"Of all the uninteresting places in the world, Dublin is to me the most so; there is nothing in it"—and arrived in London with health and vigour renewed for the work that stood before him in the ensuing winter.

Instinctively he turned, in these dark days, to the loving sympathy of his children. With his eldest daughter, Lady Templemore, he corresponded more intimately than with any one, and very touching are some of the references in his letters to their mutual loss. Thus, writing to her on board the *Ferret*, off Oban, July 29, 1873, he says:—

I wish that you were with us. We passed within ten miles of Ireland, and thought of you, although you were not there. I wish the others were with us; yet, perhaps, we should say, 'wish that we were with *them!*' They are ever in my mind; and I love to sit and think over their last and assuring words. . . . . May God in His mercy be with you.

Constantly as his sorrow was present to him, Lord Shaftesbury did not morbidly indulge it; on the contrary, he sought every means to overcome it. The following letter, sad, playful, energetic by turns, is an admirable reflex of the attitude of his mind at this time:—

Lord Shaftesbury to Lady Templemore.

BROADLANDS, *Jan.* 30*th*, 1874.

DEAREST VEA,—I have just read your letter to Hilda. We go from here to-day, and remain at the Saint until Tuesday morning,

We then, as Evelyn desires it, go to the Isle of Wight for a day or so, and after that, God willing, straight to London. St. Giles's would be very solitary for me and Hilda all alone, and besides, I must find some refreshment in the duties of London life; some distraction from thoughts of former days; something to keep out of sight the vacant chair; something to keep my ears from always listening to catch that dear, beautiful, silver voice. I miss her and the precious Conty more and more every hour. Pusey wrote to me at the time of the event, and said, 'You will be a changed man'—and so I am, in many respects. But God's will be done.

There is, I hope, good ground to anticipate success for Edy.* The *coup d'état*, reprehensible as it is, will rather serve his cause. He is on the spot, and his opponent is absent; and he is spared the evil effects of further defeats of the Government at election, the mob always loving to go on the winning side.

Mr. ——, a favourite clergyman, 'spounded and 'splained St. Paul to us this evening. It was a marvellous effort of freezing power. It was *Revelation frappée*—the Gospel in ice. So far as I can judge, tell Templemore, Gladstone will have a majority, but a diminished one. His friend, D'Izzy, has not done anything—though clearly he thinks otherwise—to abate that majority. G. alarmed all the capitalists by saying that he was prepared for a full and immediate repeal of the income tax, without saying what he would put in its place. D'Izzy, resolved not to be outdone, replies, 'Why, I am ready to do the same.' 'Well, if that be so,' remarks the country, 'we had better bear the ills we have' (G. and his Cabinet) 'than fly to others'—D'Izzy and his—'that we know not of.' They are all alike on both sides; all equally honest, wise, patriotic, and trustworthy! Such at least is my poor opinion.

What a thing it is for a nation to have such a store, nay, such a treasury of good men!

Love to every one. May God bless and prosper you.

S.

The great subject that now, more than ever, was pressing upon the thought of Lord Shaftesbury was the state of the Church. A long and persistent warfare

* Mr. Evelyn Ashley was contesting the Isle of Wight in the Liberal interest.

against Ritualistic and Romanising practices had been carried on by him. For nearly seven years he had continued the contest, almost without intermission, but in none of his Parliamentary efforts had he met with great success. In 1867 his Clerical Vestments Bill was set aside by the appointment of the Ritual Commission; his further Bill, founded on the recommendations of that Commission, was arrested on the ground that it exceeded the recommendations; for four Sessions he had persistently laboured on his Ecclesiastical Courts Reform Bills, which he had been unable to carry. Success, however, is not always to be reckoned by results that can be tabulated, and his success lay rather in this —that he had dragged abuses into the light, had sown broadcast the seeds of principles which were to take root and check the overwhelming spread of error; had provoked discussion, and had broken up the soil in which others were to sow and reap.

He was one of the first to discern, with a prophetic eye, the evils that were coming upon the Church; he was one of the first to draw public attention to the fact that reform in the constitution and procedure of the Ecclesiastical Courts was a pressing necessity. He saw that the times were pregnant with mighty issues, and in the early part of the year 1874 it seemed that the crisis of the times had come. Referring to that period a writer in the *Quarterly Review** in an article on "The State of the Church" observed, when speaking of the Ecclesiastical Courts Bills:—

* *Quarterly Review*, July, 1874, No. 273, p. 247.

"We are not using stilted language, or falling into the error of magnifying contemporary events, when we say that the action now going forward claims our best attention, because it is of the last importance. It is a turning-point in the fortunes of the Church *in* England; it is a turning-point in the history *of* the Church of England—that Church which has maintained relations with the realm of England through every change of dynasty and fortune, and been faithful to the realm through all. It is the turning-point in the history of a Church whose sees are older than the Monarchy; whose charters were confirmed by Knut, the Dane; thousands of whose parishes are still as they were settled under the Norman kings; and whose fabrics are the handiwork of more than twenty generations of Englishmen. It is a turning-point, too, in the history of a Church whose bishops have been an integral part of the national legislature, and whose courts and convocations have formed part of the national constitution through all the changes and revolutions of which our history has to tell. To a man who can look before and after, who can see in a given crisis the many forces of which it is the single resultant, and who can also forecast the diverse issues which must follow according as it is wisely dealt with, or the reverse, the situation is full of the deepest interest."

Lord Shaftesbury was "a man who could look before and after," and he watched the progress of the Public Worship Bill, introduced into the House of Lords by the Archbishop of Canterbury, on the 28th of April, with the

most profound interest. The design of Archbishop Tait's Bill was, in fact, to do, though not so effectually, what had been proposed by Lord Shaftesbury's Ecclesiastical Courts Bills, upon which he had expended the labour of four years. In those labours he had received very little encouragement from the Right Reverend Prelates; but now, the Church Establishment was threatened by so many perils, that the Archbishops of York and Canterbury took the lead in proposing remedial measures, and thus the bishops were roused to attempt the removal of the wrongs and the abuses which were admitted on all hands to exist.

It would be tedious, as well as foreign to our purpose, to give the whole history of the measure or to analyse its provisions. Initiated at Addington, it was submitted by the Primate at large meetings of the bishops at Lambeth, where it was twice changed and modified. It still had many faults, which Lord Shaftesbury exposed when the Bill was introduced, and yet more forcibly on the Second Reading on the 11th of May. One of his principal objections was, that according to the new measure, the proposed Court was to consist of ecclesiastics, with one exception nominated by the bishop, and all subject to his authority. The Bishop's *discretion* was to be paramount, and, as if to exclude the control of public opinion, they were to be empowered to sit *in camerâ*. In pointing out the perils of this proposal, Lord Shaftesbury quoted the words of Lord Chancellor Camden as to "judicial discretion." "The discretion of a judge," said the famous Chancellor, "is the law of

tyrants. It is different in different men; it is always unknown; it is casual, and depends upon constitution, temper, and passion. In the best, it is oftentimes caprice; in the worst, it is every vice and passion to which human nature is liable." Lord Shaftesbury added:—

But, if such be the case in respect of professional and trained lawyers, how much stronger is the statement in reference to bishops, who, though rising into judges, have never enjoyed the benefit of legal education and experience? Why, in some aspects, my Lords, the better the bishop is as a bishop, the less qualified he would be as a calm and dispassionate judge. It would be beyond human nature to expect that a bishop, sitting in power and authority in a Court, a man of earnest piety and zeal for the cause of religion, should not feel a strong, almost an irresistible bias towards the decision that seemed to be the most conducive to the interests of the Church. My Lords, I am called a Low Churchman—and I dare say I am so—but I most solemnly declare that, even were I sure of Low Church bishops for half a century to come, I would not confer on them the discretion contained in this Bill. No one, whoever he may be, ought to be entrusted with absolute power.

The following extracts are from the Diary:—

May 26th, 1874.—St. Giles's. . . . Shall not have much repose here—had resolved to abandon Bishop's Bill altogether. But Cairns besought me—promising me, privately, the whole support of the Government—to bring forward, as an amendment, a large portion of my former Eccles. Courts Bill. Agreed, as he wished it, but I fear, to my vast trouble and even confusion, for Lord Selborne, the ex-Chancellor, has taken the lead in a volume of amendments: and I cannot comprehend that he and I should ever be of one mind. . . .

June 13th.—Long and anxious nights on the Public Worship Bill! Carried my amendments, by God's blessing. Majority 113 to 12, and after much abuse from the papers, a vast amount of praise! . . . But the circumstances of the whole affair have been

very peculiar. I was forced, in conscience, to expose, though I did not oppose, the Bishop's Bill. I was reviled by them and by others. Nevertheless, they amended their Bill, and left out much to which I had objected. I had made up my mind to do no more after my speech. But Cairns (Lord Chancellor) called me to him on the woolsack, and urged me to reproduce the clauses of my Eccles. Bill of 1869—71—72, relating to the institution of a provincial judge. 'We shall make a good bill,' said he, 'and the amendments, as coming from you, will have great weight.' . . .

The Bill left the House of Lords on the 26th of June. During the month of July "through a road encumbered with lagging Bills, amongst which the ablest charioteer might find the measure he was guiding clogged and overthrown, an independent member of the House undertook the task of directing to a successful issue, a Bill that must excite at every step as it passed along, passions and animosities of every kind, a Bill that would find its wheels spoked with 'amendments' intended to be fatal."

The subsequent history of the Bill is told concisely in the Diary:—

July 18th.—Have had no time to record some marvels of God's Providence and care, for so they are, in the matter of the Public Worship Bill. The Recorder of London, Russell Gurney, took the Bill in charge: D'Israeli had the foresight and wisdom to give him a day—Thursday, 9th. The Debate was adjourned, apparently a delay, really an advance. The following Wednesday was assigned; the debate to begin at twelve. The standing orders to be suspended so that it might go on, if necessary, for twelve consecutive hours.

In this way, by degrees, the favour of the Government came out, overruling, manifestly, two of their colleagues, Cardinal Hardy and Monsignor Salisbury.

Gladstone, in a florid and fallacious speech, had prepared the way

for D'Izzy's strategy. He concluded his ultramontane address by six resolutions, so Romish, revolutionary, and yet feeble, that D'Izzy, who was seeking a ground on which to grant a day for the Committee, saw his opportunity, and seized it. 'The Right Hon. Gentleman,' said he, 'has propounded resolutions so subversive of the Religious System, under which we have lived for 300 years, and so revolutionary in every aspect, that I cannot allow the Houses to separate without obtaining from them a declaration of opinion." The day was won. The second reading—nearly six hundred members being present—was carried without a division. Gladstone himself having slunk out of the House, not daring to have, according to his own favourite phrase, 'the courage of his opinions,' and he told Lord Ernest Bruce, from whom I heard it, as he went down the stairs, that he did not intend to vote.

Last night Bill got through in several clauses, especially the *crux*, the appointment of the judge. Sorry that it did not get through the whole: fixed for Tuesday. The finger of God has been manifest all through. It struck even common minds. Of all the clever men I know, or ever have known, D'Izzy is the chief. What a head he has for policy and practice! Yet the battle is not yet won. As at the first, so now, O God, watch over us!

Aug. 5th.—Was to have left early for Chillingham this morning. Put off journey to negotiate with M.P.'s, so Cairns wished, and see whether Bill could be saved. It would have been comparatively easy had not Salisbury, by his violent language, exasperated the Commons. Yet, there are hopes of safety, debate is going on. Shall go again to House of Lords at five o'clock to receive answer. *Seven o'clock.* The Bill is safe. I bless Thee, O Lord. The Commons gave way, and all is peace and harmony.

The Bill received the Royal Assent on the 7th of August. It has been justly said that Lord Shaftesbury "is but very partially responsible for the faults of its construction, and not at all responsible for the errors of its administration. The latter have had at least as much to do with its failure as the former."*

* Supplement to the *Record*, Oct. 2, 1885.

We now turn to the Diary, to gather extracts indicating the drift of Lord Shaftesbury's thought and speech and action during this year.

The Ballot was working wonderful changes in the personality of the representatives to Parliament. Referring to instances in which members of long standing had been turned out and unknown men brought in, which, in neither case, would have happened under open voting, he says :—

Feb. 4th.— . . . Passion, prejudice, predilection, fancy, or a momentary impulse, seems to govern the electors. They are ruled by no principle, adherence to party, or old associations. Every man can now lie with safety, and so indulge securely a strong and pleasant tendency of the human heart. He can—and he does—promise one way and vote another, so subserving his interests publicly, and his feelings privately.

It is a new thing and a very serious thing, to see the Prime Minister 'on the stump.' Surely there is some little due to dignity of position. But to see him running from Greenwich to Blackheath, to Woolwich, to New Cross, to every place where a barrel can be set up, is more like Punch than the Premier. . . .

Mr. Gladstone's appeal to the country was unsuccessful. The Conservatives triumphed, and Mr. Disraeli resumed office.

Feb. 11th.— . . . It is observable that each Minister has fallen under his own Frankenstein. D'Izzy brought in Household Suffrage, dissolved the Parliament, and was demolished by his own constituencies. Gladstone carried the Ballot a year ago; dissolved, and is sent to the right about. However clear the proofs of what the Ballot can and will do, however formidable its working to the morality of the country, neither party dares to say a word on the subject. The Liberals cannot revile their favourite measure. The Conservatives cannot praise, however hollow that praise might be, what they so

furiously denounced. But the pendulum will soon swing the other way; and the Conservatives will curse it, while the Liberals will not bless it, when they see the uncertainty, the constant change, the instability of everything, moral, social and political, that it will introduce into our system. D'Izzy—and it is justifiable, though fearfully fallacious—boasts of his measure of Household Suffrage, and says, 'Did not I assert that the people of England are attached to all our institutions?' He did, and he is in error. The present vote is no more a proof that the people are attached to things as they are, than that the present fashion of chignons will be the head-dress of the women of England for several generations. It is a caprice, a fancy, a taste, a burst of individualism as against the old habits and bonds, perhaps, of party, employment, private obligations, and what not. A weariness, a fickleness, a love of change without any reason for it. The Dissolution takes place at a time of vast prosperity; of high wages, of conflicts won by the holders of suffrage, and of consequent good humour. Reverse all this. Let Parliament be dissolved on a 'special cry' by some reckless and designing Minister, or in some period of deep distress, or of furious conflict between labour and capital—assume it to occur during heated and active notions of the acquisition and tenure of property of every kind —assume it to occur in a time when the people are thinking of a 'free breakfast,' of the freedom of toil from any taxation whatever, and the imposition of it on 'realised' property alone. Contemplate it, under the suffrage of the peasantry, concealed by the Ballot. Let the cry be Disestablishment of the Church, or division of the land, provisions being dear, labour scanty, and wages very low. All these conditions are not only probable, but certain. Add, what is equally probable and equally certain, that the revolutionary leaders not taken by surprise, as now, but practised in the manipulations and facilities of the Ballot, and furnished, alike with measures and with candidates, compete for the representation! Can any one doubt the issue? Imagine, moreover, a time, a time certainly not far distant, when the men now advanced in years, bordering on the 'threescore and ten,' the men bred up in the ancient traditions of the Realm, having a smack, however weak, of the 'old flavour,' are either dead or incapacitated! Who is to succeed Gladstone among the Liberals? Who, D'Izzy amongst the Conservatives? There may be men whom we do not now see.

Feb. 16th.—London. . . In the *Times* of three days ago, I saw announced the death of Strauss? 'We shall soon know the grand secret,' said the murderer Thistlewood, of Cato Street—so the Chaplain of Newgate, who was near him, told me—just before he was executed. Strauss knows it now. The thought is awful beyond expression. . . .

Feb. 28th.—Last night Haydn's 'Creation' at Exeter Hall—had never heard it before, but in piecemeal. Delighted—delighted Such music leads to religion, as, in truth, coming from it. Haydn and Handel both gave thanks to God as the source of their inspirations.

March 3rd.—Yesterday to Clapton to attend the funeral of Dr. Binney, the well-known Congregationalist minister. It was a 'grievous mourning,' as was said of old Jacob, for there were some three or four hundred in procession, besides the multitudes who thronged to see the ceremony. Doubtless, he was a 'master in Israel,' and was 'gathered to his fathers' in a good old age, threescore years and sixteen!

In the time of his great trouble, a bond of union was established between Lord Shaftesbury and the Costermongers which was never to be broken. His first visit after his bereavement had been to them. He gave notice of his intention in the following note:—

Lord Shaftesbury to Mr. W. J. Orsman.

Jan. 7th, 1873.

DEAR ORSMAN,—I am very anxious to hear something about my people in Golden Lane. Give them my love and blessing. And say that I shall, God willing, come and see them very soon in a quiet way.

Thank them and the children for all their prayers.

We have said elsewhere that Lord Shaftesbury was no ordinary visitor to the poor. A few extracts from some of the letters he was constantly sending to Mr.

Orsman, will give illustrations of the truth of the assertion.

Feb. 26th, 1873.—Do you ever perambulate your district 'by day?' If so, I should like to accompany you.

March 3rd.—Do not forget the woman who made the braces. We promised her something. I have sent two copies of the 'Faithful Promiser' for the two wives of the cabinet-maker and the old paralysed man.

March 7th.—Your missionaries must talk to the poor cabinet-maker, and *pray* with him. He is not hardened. Let him have what he wants in his necessity.

March 8th.—I have sent you a book for the two sons of the woman (spectacles) and the paralytic husband. Also picture cards, as I promised, to the little girl, daughter of the shoemaker's wife, who was 'the Security.'*

He frequently refers to his "brother Costers" in his Diary. They were rarely out of his thoughts for long.

March 7th, 1874.—On 5th to Orsman's tea-party of aged Costers in Golden Lane—poor old dears—had to give them a 'Hortation,' as Hobbes translates Thucydides.

The next quotations are characteristic:—

March 11th, 1874.—On Monday a prayer meeting in the Chapel.† Many of the congregation called on 'to lead.' Extempore prayer, except for special occasions, seems more adapted to the closet than to public worship. Very few, indeed, have the gift; I could find fifty men to make a good speech, for one who could deliver an extempore prayer. . . .

* It was impossible for Lord Shaftesbury to remember the names of the many people he visited. He was in the habit, therefore, of describing them in some way by which they would be easily recognised. Thus, the shoemaker's wife was one who had stood "security" for a water-cress girl when borrowing money from the "Emily Loan Fund."

† Portman Chapel (Rev. Canon Reeve), where Lord Shaftesbury, for many years, attended public worship.

March 20th.—Attended House of Lords, that 'vast aquarium,' full of cold-blooded life, before going to Whitechapel. . . .

The most important of the religious meetings attended by Lord Shaftesbury in the May of this year was held in connection with the opening of the new London City Mission house. He spoke on "Mission Work in London." His speech, subsequently issued in pamphlet form, gave an interesting account of the state of spiritual destitution and neglect in the early days of his career, and traced the progress made in the cause of evangelisation.

May 2nd.—Yesterday, Chair of opening of new house for London City Mission. It was an interesting affair—this silent, useful, Christian Association, rising out of its obscurity and narrow bounds, to take its place among the best, in fruitfulness though not in splendour, of the institutions of the metropolis! God grant it humility in proportion to its success; and the mighty grace of trembling while it rejoices. Did my best on its behalf; but what was that? Why, just so much as God gave me to speak, and no more. . . .

May 27th.—St. Giles's. . . . Evelyn is come here safe and sound. The bells are ringing joyfully,* but she, my beloved one, who lies beneath them, hears them not. How glad would her dear heart have been in the success of her sympathising son! But she is listening to other sounds, the sounds of everlasting praise and love to her precious Lord and Saviour.

Long before Messrs. Moody and Sankey commenced their special religious services in London, there were "Revivalist preachers," as they were termed, who were drawing large audiences. Lord Shaftesbury went to

* To celebrate the return of the Hon. Evelyn Ashley as M.P. for Poole.

hear one of them, and the following entry describes the impressions he received :—

His subject was John the Baptist and Herod. My first remark is that never did I hear a sermon in which the preacher stuck so closely to his text. He never left it for a moment. He showed in Herod the inconsistencies of men professing to be religious, and the desperate issues of which they became capable, when departing from the truth, to gratify passion. He enlarged greatly, and showed all the pretensions, all the hollowness, all the contradictions in much of religious life. He showed in John the Baptist that holiness, sincerity, and zeal, though reviled, persecuted, laughed at secretly and universally, commanded respect. I concurred with every syllable. I never had listened to a sermon more true, more experienced, more faithful, and more telling. Was it pleasing to the congregation? I trow not. It had too much of real, searching, practical, and distasteful truth. It was enough to drive mad four-fifths of the religious world. But his manner, gestures, and delivery were simply offensive—they were violent, ludicrous, ranting, theatrical. At one time, like a Jack-in-the-box, he dived so into the pulpit that you could barely see him; at another, he threw himself, arms and all, over the side, so as to be scarcely capable of recovering himself. He thrashed with his arms, as though he were about to strike; and his physical and muscular efforts were those of a gymnast. I could not help saying within myself, 'Did our Lord preach in this fashion on the shores of the Sea of Galilee?' . . .

Sept. 18th. . . . Northampton is vacant; Bradlaugh is a candidate; will he be returned? Such an issue would be nearly impossible under open voting. It is, I suspect, nearly certain under the ballot.

Sometimes, in the pauses of his busy life, Lord Shaftesbury asked himself whether it was worth while to persevere in his labours. He was beginning to be sensible of the weight of years; and, more than this, he was made to feel that the generation to which he belonged was passing away, that he was no longer required, and

that he should make room, therefore, for other and younger men. These were but the casual thoughts and feelings of tired hours, but they pressed upon him occasionally with great force. There is a ring of melancholy in the following entry:—

Jan. 11th 1875.—Sanitary questions, of which I saw the dawn, and had all the early labours, are passed into 'Imperial' subjects. Boards are everywhere, laws have been enacted, public attention roused, and Ministers have declared themselves willing to bring to bear on them the whole force of Government. Not only am I not wanted, but my interference would be superfluous and an incumbrance.

Social questions are in the same position. They have advanced into the regions of 'Imperialism.' All questions of labour are decided by combinations, or by statute. The working classes have become patrons instead of clients; and they both can and do fight their own battles. It was not so forty years ago, when I began the struggle. The matter of their Dwellings is still one of interest, but here again, the movement has passed from individuals to Companies, speculators, Acts of Parliament, and now at last, so Mr. Cross has promised, to the hands of the Secretary of State. How completely my aid is of little esteem at present may be seen in the fact that neither on the Factory Bill nor on the forthcoming measure for Industrial Dwellings have I been consulted to the extent of a single inquiry. Have often called myself 'The Great *Pis-Aller*,' and so events have proved it. People took me because they could get no other. There is nothing to complain of. I saw it all along, and I conformed, because I saw a duty in submission.

Time had not laid his hand upon Lord Shaftesbury's heart—

> —— as a harper lays his open palm
> Upon his harp, to deaden its vibrations.

He still had his aspirations and his hopes; there still uprose in him that strong, proud, resolute will, that, in

days long past, had made him persevere in schemes which to the eyes of others seemed predestined to end in failure; it was only occasionally that he "stood beside the stream of Time to gaze upon its waters rushing past him;" only in hours of depression that he felt he must "unbuckle the armour and retire from the fight." And it is curious that whenever, in the Diaries, we meet with such an entry as we have quoted above, we find that it is followed by passage after passage, showing that, although by the relentless law of change, old things were passing away, yet by another law as inevitable, all things were becoming new, and the aged man's sigh of regret over the past gives place to the strong man's fervour as he launches himself out into the resistless stream of practical effort.

Thus, in the extract last given, he sighs that the matter of the Dwellings of the Working Classes has passed from individuals to companies, and that even his opinion, much more his aid, is disregarded. A page or two further on in the Diary, we find him working with all his old vigour in the cause; fostering old schemes and planning fresh ones. One day he writes:—

I am weary of controversy, of perpetual dispute, of assault and defence on the question of Romanism; of assault and defence on the score of Neology. My head swims with the unceasing variety of charges, of refutations, of sermons, books, articles, pamphlets; I cannot embrace them, follow them, comprehend them. Life, in body and mind, is a whirlpool, and I, for one, feel perpetually giddy. I feel incompetent to give a reason 'of the hopes that are in me,' and yet, by the blessing of Almighty God, I have them. I cannot answer any one, 'one of a thousand,' and yet, through the grace of

Christ, I have the satisfactory answer within my own heart. I see all the dangers that beset us, but I cannot find any who regard my opinions . . .

Almost the next entry finds him hotly battling in a paper war in defence of the truth in the early part of the day, and in the evening "At Birkbeck Institution. Had opportunity of maintaining—and well received—that the farther science advanced, the greater was its harmony with revealed religion."

It was his frequent prayer that it would please God to give him a sign when he must desist from work and no longer endeavour to make himself heard on platform or in Parliament: "Yes, a sign or a sound that shall make known, as in Num. xiv. 42, 'Go not up, for the Lord is not with you.'" Patiently he waited for the sign, but it did not come, and meanwhile he laboured on.

Feb. 16th.—On 9th to Cripples' Home at Kensington. Called on Forster and found him better, thank God. Froude, the historian, was there. 11th.—Dipsomaniacs' chair, Willis's Rooms. 12th.—Mansion House, for London City Mission. 13th.—In evening, Bethnal Green, for my brother William, whose mission is, under God, doing a great work in these solitary parts. 15th.—Commission in Lunacy. Omitted—on Friday, 12th, to Ragged School Union, to arrange plans for a fresh aggression, nay, a new form of one, on the very lowest of London; be we driven by the School Board from our present ground, we must seek another standpoint. God be with us. 'Christo in pauperibus.'

On the 9th of March, Messrs. Moody and Sankey, the American Evangelists, commenced a series of "Revival Gatherings" in the Agricultural Hall at Islington. From the first, their success seemed guaranteed, but

Lord Shaftesbury, although he contributed to the funds, did not co-operate in the work. He regarded the arrival of Mr. Moody as that of "the right man at the right hour," "at a time when the masses are lying in indifference, and are nevertheless impressible." On the first opportunity, he paid a visit to the Agricultural Hall, and his description, written while the impressions were all fresh in his mind, is as follows:—

March 31st.—On Good Friday to hear Moody and Sankey; deeply impressed, and the more impressed because of the imperfection of the whole thing. 'Imperfect,' I speak as a man. 'The things that are highly esteemed among men are abomination in the sight of God!' The music was the voice of one singer; the air, the simplest possible; the words adapted to the poorest and least taught mind. And yet it went to the inmost soul, and seemed to empty it of everything but the thought of the good, tender, and lowly Shepherd. The instrument was no more than an accordion, and the singer and the performer were the same. The preacher was clad in ordinary dress; his language was colloquial, free, easy, and like common talk. The voice is bad and ill-managed; he abounds in illustrations, and most effective ones; in stories, anecdotes, very appropriate, oftentimes bordering on the 'humorous,' almost to the extent of provoking a laugh! There is volubility, but no eloquence. There is nothing, in short, to win, externally at least; perhaps something to repel, even those who might not be unfavourably disposed. And yet the result is striking, effective, touching, and leading to much thought. St. Paul said of himself as a preacher, 'his bodily presence is weak and his speech contemptible.' It was the statement, at least, of his enemies. Nevertheless, the 17th and the 20th of Acts show what issues the Holy Spirit can work out of feeble materials. Is it not so here? We are just at this time founding associations to teach the 'art of preaching.' Bishops and others are lecturing right and left upon Homiletics. Here come two simple, unlettered men from the other side of the Atlantic. They have had no theological training, and never read the Fathers; they refuse to belong to any denomination; they are totally without skill in delivery, and have no pretensions

to the highest order of rhetoric. They are calm, without an approach to the fanatical or even the enthusiastic. They seek neither to terrify nor to puff up; eschew controversy, and flatter no passions. So it is, nevertheless, thousands of all degrees in station and mental culture bow before them. Are we not right in believing—time will show—that God has chosen the 'foolish things of the world to confound the wise'? Moody will do more in an hour than Canon Liddon in a century.

Of secondary causes, cannot but attribute a vast deal to his manifest conviction: it impresses the auditory. In his intense earnestness they go along with him: the simplicity of his message —Christ crucified—the evident fact that he has no special Church purposes, nor, on the surface at least, any interested considerations. All seems natural, easy, almost necessary to him. It appears the dictate of the moment, without previous thought, or any form of preparation! Yet how account for the effect on every station and degree! Workpeople, shopkeepers, merchants, lawyers, clergy and laity alike confess the power and cannot explain it.

I agree with Gamaliel: 'If this thing be of men, it will soon come to naught; but if it be of God, ye cannot fight against it.' To my own mind there is something in it superhuman. In what mode, to what extent, for how long, and with what issue, our Lord alone knows. If it be His work, may He prosper it! . . .

The important questions of the Housing of the Poor, and the Improvement of Artizans' Dwellings, on which Lord Shaftesbury had been engaged ever since 1843, were growing in urgency every year. Metropolitan improvements were being made in all directions; the poor were being displaced in greater numbers than ever; population was increasing with gigantic strides; and little or no provision was being made for the reasonable accommodation of the labouring classes.

In 1872 he had laid the first memorial stone of a workman's city, called by his own name, the

"Shaftesbury Park," and situated at Lavender Hill, in the Wandsworth Road. It introduced a new era in the progress of working men. It was a town, on all the modern principles of sanitary arrangements, with recreation grounds, clubs, schools, libraries, baths, and no public-houses. Shops, too, were to be ignored, and the whole to proceed on the co-operative system. His comment in the Diary, on the day he laid the stone, was this:—

> Aug. 5th, 1872.—It is a great experiment, and a doubtful one. Yet, after thirty years of thought and trial, see no other mode of improving, on a large scale, the domiciliary condition of the people. Charity cannot do it. The capitalists will not do it. The people themselves must do it—and here, they have attempted it. . . .

The scheme was undertaken by the Artizans', Labourers', and General Dwellings Company (Limited) —an organisation which took its rise in 1867 in consequence of the extensive demolition of houses caused by various metropolitan improvements. Although Lord Shaftesbury was only nominally associated with the scheme, he took a deep interest in its working, and lent what aid was in his power to advance its prosperity.

On the 11th of May, 1875, when the Government brought in the Artizans' Dwellings Bill, Lord Shaftesbury supported it in an able speech, in which he pointed out the overwhelming difficulties to be overcome in finding suitable accommodation for populations displaced by improvements. In his opening sentence he said: "The Government have done their best to master the difficulty; but they have not mastered it, nor will they do so, until after wide and protracted experience."

The prophecy was true, and it was not until ten years later, when the Royal Commission, with the Prince of Wales as its most active member, was appointed, that the problem drew near its solution.

Returning again to the Diary we select the following miscellaneous passages :—

Jan. 6th, 1875.—Mr. Auberon Herbert has blessed the world with his notions of prayer! he has set this forth in a letter to the *Times* of the 4th. The conclusion, so far as I can understand it, is that, 'There is a certain sort of God, to whom may be offered a certain kind of prayer.' The definitions are not yet vouchsafed. . . .

Jan 8th.— . . . One thing remains—a Bill for the Relief of the Clergy in the matter of Fees—an Augean stable of singular filth. Have moved for the returns, but will not undertake a Bill. God helping me, I may state the case; but the remedy of such an extensive abuse is the duty of Government. . . .

April 22nd.—On Saturday, 17th, dined with D'Israeli. I admire the abilities of the man, but not his use of them. There is nothing really to admire in him, beyond the possession of talents. . . .

At an evening party, given by Sir Henry Rawlinson to the members of the Arctic Expedition under Captain Nares, at which Lord Shaftesbury was present, Sir Bartle Frere took the opportunity to urge upon him, on many grounds, that he should pay a visit to the United States. Referring to this he says :—

April 30th.—It is what I had long and often wished, but as St. Paul says, 'Was let hitherto.' Now I am too near the sensible decay of physical and mental power for such an effort as that would be. The demands on my strength, in every form, would far surpass what I could have endured, even in my younger days. Besides, for an enterprise like that, I must have very clear indications indeed that it is not only permitted, but commanded, by God; otherwise I could not go, even in possible comfort—I should doubt and tremble.

Lord Shaftesbury was the patron of many institutions for the welfare of domestic servants, and he never lost an opportunity of saying a good word for that, oftentimes, long-suffering and ill-rewarded class. As he never preached what he did not practise, he revived in his own household

> Those times
> When lords were styled fathers of families,
> And not imperious masters! when they number'd
> Their servants almost equal with their sons,
> Or one degree beneath them! When their labours
> Were cherished and rewarded, and a period
> Set to their sufferings! When they did not press
> Their duties or their wills beyond the power
> And strength of their performance; all things ordered
> With such decorum, as wise law-makers.

Thus, in 1883, when speaking on behalf of an admirable institution in which he took a great interest —the Aged Pilgrim's Friend Society—he was able to refer to the fact that his housekeeper had been fifty-two years in his service; that, as nurse, she had brought up all his children; that not one of them would ever think of retiring to rest in his house without bidding good-night to that "female patriarch!" and that she was held in reverence by all the household. He did not, of course, say what was, nevertheless, the fact, that every morning after prayers it was his habit to shake hands with the aged housekeeper, and enquire after her health and of things that were of interest in her little world. He had exemplified the saying of old Philip Quarles, "If thou wouldst have a good servant,

let the servant find a good master." To another old friend and servant the following entry relates:

July 9th.— . . . Yesterday, poor King died, the attached and faithful maid of my most blessed wife. She joined my precious Minny when that beloved woman was only ten years old, and, fifty-three years afterwards, was still in the family, and died among us. True, kind, honest, affectionate, and having no hope but in Christ, she is gone to her rest, and so breaks another worldly link between me and the parted ones. . . .

The well-being of Factory Operatives, wherever they might be, was always near to the heart of Lord Shaftesbury. It was a grief to him to find that there existed, in India, many of the evils that had once attended the Factory system at home; and, on the publication of the Report of the Inspector of Factories, as to the regulation of labour in the cotton mills in the Presidency of Bengal, he drew the attention of the Secretary of State for India, to the proved evils of many parts of the system, and pleaded that there might be given to the natives the boon of healthy work, reasonable hours, wholesome homes, and good education.

July 30th.—Statement in House of Lords respecting progress of the Factory system in India, with all its accompanying cruelties, when unrestricted. Salisbury, in reply, was civil, kind, and encouraging. I, myself, felt, more than ever, the atmosphere of that House; although on my *old* and my *own* question, I was oblivious, unsteady, downcast. But God be praised for the little I was enabled to do.

The year that had opened with the regret that he was stranded while the stream of life rushed past, found him towards its close in the full rush and roar of the

torrent. "Intense correspondence of all sorts, on every subject under the sun:" on Church matters; on the revival of Rubrics; on Ragged Schools; by a public correspondence in the *Times* with the chairman of the Metropolitan School Board; on trade; the adulteration of British goods for the Colonial markets, and on dwellings for the poor. In addition to which he was "much harassed by letters and business on Artizans' Dwellings Company."

There were yet many more years before the labourer's task should end.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1876—1878.

John Forster—The Royal Titles Bill—Visit to Windsor—Moves Amendment on Royal Titles Bill—A Brilliant House—Vivisection—Bill for Restricting Cruelty to Animals—The Bulgarian Atrocities—Meeting at Willis's Rooms—Official Report on the Atrocities—Indignation Meetings—George Moore—A Separation—Mr. Dillwyn and the Lunacy Laws—Select Committee appointed—Portrait by Sir John Millais—The Hon. William Ashley—Bosnian and Herzegovinian Refugees—Tribute by Lord Hartington—"S. P. C. K." Controversy—Isolation—Touching Memories—Factory Consolidation Bill—Freedom of the City of Edinburgh—Death of Earl Russell—A Meteoric Course—Roseneath—Lord Beaconsfield's "Spirited Foreign Policy"—The Afghan Committee—Mr. Gladstone at Greenwich—Vote of Censure—The Afghan War—Sensitiveness—Rev. Canon Reeve—Rev. C. H. Spurgeon—Correspondence with Mr. Spurgeon—Mr. George Holland—Mr. Joseph Gent—Mr. T. B. Smithies—"And many more."

For many years the Diary had been occasionally noted:—"Dined with Forster." "Some excellent talk to-day with Forster." "Forster has been of great assistance to me."

John Forster, the historian, essayist, and journalist, the biographer of Charles Dickens, Sir John Eliot, Goldsmith, and Landor, had hardly a friend for whom he entertained a more reverential regard than for Lord Shaftesbury. What Lord Shaftesbury's feelings were towards him, are shown in the following extract from the Diary:—

Feb. 1st, seven o'clock.—Have, this instant, received a telegram from Cleator to say that Forster died this morning at eleven o'clock.

Much shocked and surprised; for, though he had long been ill, no one apprehended danger. God's will be done! I have lost now almost the last friend I had, on whose heart and affection I could rely. He was, I believe, sincerely and truly attached to me. Little did I think that he would be the next to fall out of the list of those for whom I pray day and night. Many social hours of friendship, amusement, and literary instruction, have I passed in his company. Only three days ago, he wrote in warm kindness to hail my return to London.

The loss was keenly felt, and long afterwards, when perplexed and anxious about some pending question, he would write, "Forster often gave me a kind encouraging word, but he is gone, and I miss my 'tonic.'"

The next entry records a circumstance which had a material influence upon Lord Shaftesbury's happiness.

Feb. 18th.—By hook and by crook, by dodges and devices, by small sales of outlying property, and disposal of tithes to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, paid off, at last, the ruinous mortgage on the St. Giles's estate. Heartily do I thank God for this deliverance

On the 17th of February, Mr. Disraeli obtained leave to bring in a Bill enabling Her Majesty to make an addition to her style and title, but without stating the exact form of the addition proposed. Mr. Lowe, assuming that the contemplated title would be that of "Empress," objected emphatically to the proposal. On the 9th of March, Mr. Disraeli, in moving the second reading of the Royal Titles Bill, announced that the title Her Majesty would assume, if the Bill were passed, would be that of "Empress," and that the style of the new title would run thus: "Victoria, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, and Empress of India."

Two days later (March 11th) Lord Shaftesbury received a telegram, commanding him to attend at Windsor Castle on the following Monday, and to remain until the next day.

It was twenty years since he had been the guest of Her Majesty, and it was with no little surprise that he received the command. He was satisfied that it must be for some special object, and he had little doubt that it related to the question then uppermost in men's minds, the Royal Titles Bill.

Although the weather was inclement, Lord Shaftesbury went to Windsor. "I dread it," he wrote on the previous day, "the cold, the evening dress, the solitude, for I am old, and dislike being far away from assistance should I be ill at night. . . . She sent for me in 1848 to consult me on a very important matter. Can it be so now?"

March 14th.—Returned from Windsor. I am sure it was so, though not distinctly avowed. Her Majesty personally said nothing. . . .

The views that Lord Shaftesbury had expressed at Windsor, he was requested by the Lord-in-Waiting to communicate to Mr. Disraeli, and this was accordingly done.

Those views were in every way opposed to the proposed title. To the style "Queen of England and India" he had no objection, but from every point of view, and especially from the Indian, he regarded the title of "Empress" as objectionable. He felt satisfied that the chiefs of India, when the matter was explained

to them, would prefer to be governed by the same name as are the people of England, and that the distinction would be offensive rather than pleasing. These views were soon to take more definite shape and expression.

March 29th.—Took a bold step the other day, and gave notice of address to the Crown, praying Her Majesty not to take the title of 'Empress.' It seemed almost a duty, as no one in the House of Lords, but myself, stood quite alone and apart from every political connection. Two or three in the House thanked me for it; many more in the House of Commons. I shall be left with, perhaps, twenty votes, or perhaps alone.

On the 3rd of April, in the presence of an audience unusually brilliant and crowded, Lord Shaftesbury moved his amendment on the Royal Titles Bill, to the effect that an Address should be presented to the Queen praying that Her Majesty might be pleased to assume "a title more in accordance than the title of 'Empress,' with the history of the nation, and with the loyalty and feelings of Her Majesty's most faithful subjects."

In his opening words he said that it was "with the greatest grief, and yet with the deepest conviction, he brought forward his resolution," but that as, in "another place," it had been asserted that the resistance to the measure proceeded from factions, from political and not from constitutional motives, he felt that "the first note of resistance in this House should be sounded by some one wholly disconnected from either of the two great divisions that agitate and adorn it." Throughout his speech he made use of the word "Emperor," and

he did so intentionally, "because," he said, "we shall in the course of time have many more sovereign Emperors than sovereign Empresses. It would be held first by an illustrious Lady, who has reigned for nearly forty years, known and beloved: it bears, too, an impression of feminine softness; but as soon as it shall have assumed the masculine gender, and have become an Emperor, the whole aspect will be changed. It will have an air military, despotic, offensive, and intolerable, alike in the East and West of the Dominions of England."

In the course of his speech, Lord Shaftesbury made one of his strongest points when giving his opinion with regard to the feeling of the people, especially of the working classes, on the subject. He had taken pains to obtain information, and was prepared to assert that from the small tradesman upwards, the universal feeling was one of repugnance. He was not fearful of the result in happy and prosperous times, but he foresaw evil consequences in days of distress, low wages, high prices, and general discontent. When the traditions, and almost the compacts, of a thousand years were broken, it would not be surprising if these people should turn round and say, "You are trying to turn your King into an Emperor; we also shall make an effort to turn him into a President."

Referring to the assertion of the Prime Minister that the repugnance, wherever it existed among the people, was "a mere sentiment," Lord Shaftesbury said:—

Sentiment, my Lords to be sure it is, and a sentiment of the kind that ought to be cherished, and not to be despised. Now that the

principle of Divine right to the Throne has departed from the people —now that they are in possession of almost universal suffrage—your Lordships' House and the Throne itself are upheld by sentiment alone, and not by force or superstition. Loyalty is a sentiment, and the same sentiment that attaches the people to the word 'Queen,' averts them from that of 'Empress.'

In inquiring into the advantages to be gained by the adoption of the title, he said:—

It is sad, indeed, to find division on a subject so delicate, so important, and on a subject, too, where in the depth of their hearts all parties are agreed, and where there is so much to lose and so little to gain. What could be gained by India beyond a name which is repudiated by the English people, and which could bring to India no increase of happiness or freedom? What could be gained by the people of England beyond the knowledge that they had imposed a title on the people of India which they themselves utterly reject? And what by the Crown if such a power be conferred without full and enthusiastic unanimity?

He concluded his speech thus:—

A time may come when, after a long course of happy rule, we may surrender India to natives, grown into a capability of self-government. Our posterity may then see an enlargement of the glorious spectacle we now witness, when India shall be added to the roll of free and independent Powers that wait on the Mother Country, and daily rise up and call her blessed. But, to attain this end, we must train them to British sentiments, infuse into them British principles, imbue them with British feeling, and rising from the vulgar notion of an Emperor, teach them that the deepest thought and the noblest expression of a genuine Briton is to fear God and honour the King.

Lord Shaftesbury's prognostication that on a division he should be "left with perhaps twenty votes, or perhaps alone," was not realised. After considerable

discussion the proposal was, of course, rejected, but, as the *Saturday Review* observed, "the division on Lord Shaftesbury's motion was more significant than the debate. Eight dukes and many habitual courtiers voted in the minority of 91, which protested against the vulgar and impolitic innovation supported by 137."

Although the fears and forebodings of Lord Shaftesbury, and those who thought with him, may appear now to have been groundless, or at least exaggerated, it must be borne in mind that most probably the protest entered by those who loved the simple title of "Queen," contributed largely to the result of "Empress" remaining a mere official and exotic addition to the ancient title. There was, at the moment, great danger, which would have been far greater had no protest been made, of "Empress Victoria" taking the place of "Queen Victoria" in daily conversation and use.

The first references in the Diary to a subject in which he was to take an absorbing interest are these:—

Jan. 18th, 1876.—*Times* has an article, ingenious, hollow, and cruel, in favour of Vivisection. It is the worship of science, and science must have its victims, like Moloch or Chemosh. The system, it is manifest, will be legitimised by statute, actually, and restricted by the same, apparently. It is a fearful issue before us. The animals have no hope. Against them stand science and logic; in their favour impulse, under the influence of morbid tenderness and morbid morality, so the *Times* says. . . .

Feb. 16th.—Thinking of Vivisection, on which I can abundantly feel, but how shall I be able to speak? Here, too, I seek, where alone it can be found, 'counsel, wisdom, and understanding.'

Although these are the first entries in the Diary on the subject of Vivisection, Lord Shaftesbury had for some time past revolved it in his mind. Thoughts and actions were inseparable with him, and he had already assisted in the formation of the "Victoria Street Society for the Protection of Animals from Vivisection," of which Society the accomplished Miss Frances Power Cobbe was the honorary secretary. "Lord Shaftesbury never joined the Victoria Street Society," she says;* "it was the Society which joined Lord Shaftesbury. There was a day in November, 1875, when, having telegraphed his readiness to support the project of Dr. Hoggan and Miss Cobbe, he, in fact, founded the Society. It was around him, and attracted in great part by his name, that the whole body eventually gathered."

He presided at a meeting of the Executive Committee on the 18th of February, 1876, and thenceforth he practically directed all the public action of the Society. His first important speech in behalf of the cause was made in the House of Lords on the 22nd of May, in support of Lord Carnarvon's Bill for Restricting Cruelty to Animals. The speech was published by the Victoria Street Society, and it occupied twenty-two pages of a large-sized pamphlet.

It was hoped that Lord Carnarvon's Bill would be passed by the House of Commons, practically unaltered from the shape in which it left the House of Lords. But, in July, an important medical deputation waited

* *The Zoophilist*, Nov. 5th, 1882, p. 114.

upon the Home Secretary (Mr. Cross), and put such pressure upon him "as to cause him to eviscerate the Bill (then in his hands for presentation to the House of Commons), and leave it the mangled and illogical measure which became, on the 15th of August, by royal signature, the Vivisection Act, 39 & 40 Vict. c. 77." *

The following extracts refer to Lord Shaftesbury's labours in the matter:—

May 23rd.—Last night Vivisection debate. I spoke. I 'went up like a rocket, and came down like a stick.' The House received me with favour, and then grew weary of my details. . . .

June 3rd. . . . Huxley, the Professor, has written me a very civil, nay, kind, letter. I replied in the same spirit. Nevertheless, two of the three black Graces, Law, Physic, and Divinity, are furious with me. The clergy have long loathed me, and the *Medical Gazette* and *Medical Examiner* now join in the cry, because I have fought for these unhappy animals. . . .

June 10th. . . . It will either be 'burked' under pretence of want of time, or, which is more probable, made a Bill for general deception, and, under the cloak of 'restriction,' be a measure to legalise and protect vivisectors, without a particle of law of protection for the vivisected. Foresee much trouble, and, what is worse, the necessity of many speeches. . .

June 16th. . . . Endeavouring to keep up feeling on vivisection by circulating speech, printed with corrections. . . .

June 21st. . . . Last night got the Vivisection Bill in Committee. No division, and no changes, but those which I had previously concurred in with Carnarvon and Cardwell. Seven bishops appeared; one of them, Peterborough, made a single observation; but *all* the seven went away at dinner-time, leaving undefended, so far as they were concerned, the most important clauses of the Bill, which were in jeopardy through the hostility of several peers. The Archbishop of York, the most noisy of all the Bench in favour of

* *The Zoophilist.*

the Bill, had gone abroad. Gloucester and Bristol, more pretentious even than York, could not stay. Canterbury the same. Winchester the same. Of what use are the Bishops in the House of Lords?

. . .

Aug. 12th.—Cross called me to Council on Vivisection Bill. He is earnest, true, anxious; but he is beset by endless difficulties, and, principally, by lack of time. Reverted to my old position that something was better than nothing, specially if that something gives a foundation on which amendments may hereafter be built. The thought of this diabolical system disturbs me night and day. God remember Thy poor, humble, useful creatures. . . .

The Eastern Question assumed a new phase in 1876, when some of the provinces of Turkey rose in revolt against the tyranny under which they had long groaned. The ruthless manner in which the Ottoman authorities strove to suppress the rebellion—more especially in Bulgaria—alienated from Turkey a large number of those who had hitherto stood by her, and looked forward to her ultimate regeneration.

The horrible story of the "Bulgarian Atrocities" roused an intense excitement in this country. On the 27th of July an influential meeting, including a large number of Members of Parliament, was held at Willis's Rooms, under the presidency of Lord Shaftesbury, to take steps towards giving due expression to the national sentiment; to declare that no moral or material support ought to be given to the Turkish Government as against the insurgent provinces; to express its deep abhorrence of the cruelties committed by the Turkish irregular troops upon the women and children and unarmed inhabitants of Bulgaria, and to "record its opinion, that the notorious abuses of the Turkish rule in

Europe, and the repeated failures of the Sublime Porte to fulfil its solemn obligations, render it hopeless to expect that any settlement of the Eastern Question will prove permanent, which does not confer upon the inhabitants of the insurgent provinces the full rights of self-government."

When, in September, the official Report of the Atrocities committed on the Christians in Bulgaria was published, it roused to intensity the wide-spread feeling of abhorrence. "The month of September, 1876," says a writer in the *Quarterly Review*, "will long be remembered in our history for an outburst of righteous indignation, for a parallel to which we must look back over the range of a long life to September, 1792." * It is thus referred to in the Diary:—

Sept. 6th.—The anger—I rejoice in it—against the Turks is an universal fever at blood-heat! Meetings everywhere. 'Gladstone's vehemence,' such is Delane's private language to me, 'is even greater than yours.' . . .

Sept. 18th. . . . Urged, pressed, almost commanded, by Mansion House Committee, to attend meeting in London. In vain I urged 400 miles of distance, the hour of two, to be followed by a journey the same night (making 800 miles) to keep an engagement at Glasgow the next evening. . . .

Sept. 20th.—Last night meeting at Glasgow to protest against the Turkish Atrocities—immense gathering—closely, uncomfortably packed; yet their furious enthusiasm kept them patient and attentive. Duke of Argyll opened, in a speech of an hour and three-quarters; a strong and vigorous indictment against Lord Derby. . . .

In a letter to Mr. Haldane, Lord Shaftesbury says, "I little thought when I tapped the Turkish question

* *Quarterly Review*, October, 1876.

in Willis's Rooms the cask would run so freely." It brought him an enormous amount of work, and a corresponding amount of anxiety, for popular feeling, which at one time was at fever heat, soon cooled down, and eventually opinion turned round altogether.

It was from no party spirit or interested motive of any kind that Lord Shaftesbury took so prominent a part in rousing the indignation of England, but simply from his love of humanity and hatred of oppression. Two years later, when atrocities in Bulgaria were committed upon the Turks by the Christian conquerors, he protested with equal indignation against "the inhuman conduct of the conquerors and those who were benefiting by the conquest."

Referring to the efforts made to provide funds for the relief of the sufferers in Bulgaria, he says:—

I sent £128 3s. 2d. to the Vice-Consuls of the Great Powers for the refreshment and restoration of the Bulgarians. *Ten* of that mighty sum of pounds was from myself. Such is the answer to my appeal. This, and other things of late, are a 'notice to quit.' The public have had enough, and indeed, too much of a good thing in me. They want, and want wisely, material better suited to the age. I purpose henceforward to bury myself in the dens and back slums of London, my first and fitting career, and appear very little, if at all, in the House of Lords, platforms, and public assemblies.

Oct. 9th. . . . Meeting in Hyde Park of from 2,000 to 3,000 persons, so policemen told me; but a shower came on and they went away. My fear is, that the excitement will be followed by lassitude, as flat as the other was sharp. Money, the 'test of all truth,' does not come in; and yet one penny a piece from the rabble who roared in the park and in the streets would have netted £50,000.

One of the losses of the year is thus referred to:—

Nov. 22nd.—If wealth and liberality constitute a great man, a great one has fallen in our Israel. Two runaway horses dashed George Moore to the ground in the streets of Carlisle, and death has ensued. Our loss is very severe. He loved and maintained Christian men and Christian doings. Learn from this that 'one event happeneth to them all.' The good and the bad suffer alike. It is in the kingdom of our Lord alone that the difference will be manifested and felt. . . . Cannot but think much of George Moore, he was ever so kind to me in manner and language.

That George Moore often thought much of Lord Shaftesbury is clear from his own words: "Experience has convinced me," he says, "that Lord Shaftesbury is the most zealous and persevering philanthropist of the day. He is always ready for every good work, and I never knew any man who could get through so much. He never tires of doing good. He has extraordinary tact and ability as a chairman; and he has, perhaps, had more experience in that position than any living man. His kind and courteous manner, his large-heartedness, and his zeal in every good movement, will give him an imperishable renown, and an everlasting inheritance with his Heavenly Master." *

An amusing incident, *à propos* of Mr. Moore's tribute to the good chairmanship of Lord Shaftesbury, may be related here. At a hospital dinner, when time was very precious, a prosy speaker, when replying to a toast, would continue talking, in spite of the growing impatience of the audience, of which he was quite unconscious. In the midst of a long and uninteresting speech he chanced, when alluding to the hospital staff,

* "George Moore, Merchant and Philanthropist." By Samuel Smiles, LL.D.

to fall into the interrogative form, and after asking "But what shall we say of Dr. M——?" paused for a moment. In an instant Lord Shaftesbury, seizing the opportunity, rose and called for "Three times three for Dr. M——." The audience saw the drift, rose, and cheered to the echo. Overwhelmed with the unexpected interruption, the orator resumed his seat, unable, in fact, to continue. "It was very kind of you," he said afterwards to Lord Shaftesbury, "very kind, but it was really a pity, for *I was just coming to the best part of my speech!*"

Parting from any of his children, even for a short period, was always a sharp sorrow to Lord Shaftesbury, and especially as the years advanced, and the chances became greater that he might not be spared to see them again. Thus, in the early part of the year 1877, when his youngest son, Mr. Cecil Ashley, was placed on the staff of Sir Bartle Frere, Governor of the Cape Colony, which involved, among other journeys, an expedition to the Transvaal, Lord Shaftesbury, although rejoicing in the honour of his son's having been "invited to go on such a service (for the duties assigned to him are the highest and the noblest, both temporally and eternally, that any one can be called to), was," as he says, "almost heart-broken."

Probably (such are my years) I shall never see my son again; but the Lord's will be done, and comfort must come to my heart and his, with the knowledge that he is sent to advance, in a humble way, the rule and blessing of the kingdom of his Lord and Saviour. I could have wished (but how ignorant are our wishes!) that this separation and this anxious toil had not fallen on me together.

The "anxious toil" was in connection with Lunacy business. From the year 1828 Lord Shaftesbury had continued to fulfil his duties as a Commissioner in Lunacy, and the reports, issued from year to year, had testified to the persistent and thorough services of the Board, in all of which he zealously and actively co-operated.

There had recently arisen in the public mind a fear that patients were placed in asylums too readily, and that the task of obtaining their discharge was too difficult. On the 12th of February, Mr. Dillwyn moved, "That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the operation of the Lunacy Laws so far as regards the security afforded by it against violation of personal liberty."

The Select Committee was duly appointed, and proceeded to institute a general inquiry into the alleged abuses. It was to some extent an attack on the Commissioners, whose office Mr. Dillwyn sought to abolish.

Feb. 13th.—Mr. Dillwyn has obtained a Committee of Inquiry into the operation of the Lunacy Laws. As in 1859, so now, I shall be summoned, as chairman, to give evidence.

March 11th.—My hour of trial is near; cannot, I should think, be delayed beyond the coming week. Half a century, all but one year, has been devoted to this cause of the lunatics; and through the wonderful mercy and power of God, the state now, as compared with the state *then*, would baffle, if description were attempted, any voice and any pen that were ever employed in spoken or written eloquence. *Non nobis Domine.*

Lord Shaftesbury was, at this time, in a very nervous, sensitive, and depressed state, and it is no exaggeration to say that his health was materially injured by anxiety as to whether, in his examination upon Mr.

Dillwyn's Committee, he could fully justify the acts of the Lunacy Commission extending over many years, and support their procedure throughout. The worn look of Sir John Millais' portrait of him, painted about this time, sufficiently attests the state of his nerves.* The following year, his countenance wore quite another expression by the testimony of Sir John Millais himself.

July 22nd.—Sunday. Appeared again on Tuesday, 17th, before the Committee. . . . Beyond the circle of my own Commissioners and the lunatics that I visit, not a soul, in great or small life, not even my associates in my works of philanthropy, as the expression is, had any notion of the years of toil and care that, under God, I have bestowed on this melancholy and awful question. . . .

Mr. Dillwyn's Select Committee arrived at the conclusion that, "although the present system was not free from risks, which might be lessened, though not wholly removed by amendments in the existing law and practice, yet, assuming that the strongest cases against the present system were brought before them, allegations of *mala fides* or of serious abuses were not substantiated." In his evidence before the Committee, Lord Shaftesbury said, with respect to illegal detention, "I am ready enough to believe that when temptation gets hold of a man's heart, he is capable of doing anything. But I am happy to say Providence throws so many difficulties in the way of these conspiracies, that I believe conspiracies in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred to be altogether impossible."

* The *Times* in its art critique said, "These lines in the face of the great Philanthropist would be painful were they not pathetic."

So remarkable and so excellent was the evidence given by Lord Shaftesbury, that it was commented upon as something unique, regarded merely as an effort of memory. We quote from one source only, *The Journal of Mental Science*: "We must heartily congratulate his lordship on the way in which the Act of 1845, his own handiwork, has passed through this examination. His lordship spoke with such a thorough mastery of every lunacy question about which he was asked, that his replies are the admiration of all his younger fellow-countrymen who are in any way interested in the welfare of the insane."

When Lord Shaftesbury was in the greatest anxiety with regard to the inquiry of the Select Committee, he received intelligence of the death of his only surviving brother, the Hon. Antony William Ashley, Master of St. Catherine's Hospital, to whom he had always been tenderly attached. He died at Mentone, but was buried at Kensal Green, where, among the chief mourners, were many of the poor of Bethnal Green, who belonged to a mission which he had successfully carried on for many years, and in connection with which he had himself conducted a class for working men.

July 22nd, *Sunday*.—On night of 18th he entered into his rest, full of peace, so the letters say, in our Blessed Lord: there is the consolation, there can be none without it. Every one who knew him has a kind word for him, and many a strong feeling of affection. One more is now gone who loved me tenderly and truly. It is a sad loss: but God's will be done. I do not suppose that a day will henceforward pass in which I shall not think of him.

July 26th.—This day he was consigned to the grave in the

cemetery at Kensal Green. It was no mere form to say, 'In the sure and certain hope of a joyful resurrection.' Maria* was there. She told me again and again of his last words, that he died in the '*unbounded assurance* of his Blessed Lord.' Such words as these are enough; they are messages from Heaven, like my precious wife's not many seconds before her final gasp: 'None but Christ.' 'My poor, dear, old brother,' said he, 'will miss me, for he knows how truly, and tenderly, I loved him.' I do know it, dear William; and I returned it. 'We took sweet counsel together, and we walked in the House of God as friends.'

Among the "miscellaneous" labours of Lord Shaftesbury in this year was an appeal on behalf of the suffering Bosnian and Herzegovinian refugees in Austria. On the 17th of July he presided at a meeting in Willis's Rooms to discuss the case, "not for controversy, but for compassion and generosity." Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Shaw Lefevre eloquently supported Lord Shaftesbury's appeal, and the immediate result of the meeting was an addition of £900 to the funds.

The following extracts relate to divers matters:—

Feb. 6th, 1877.—Vaccinated, for at least the fifth time, a few days ago. The doctor, after due inspection, pronounced that, without this last vaccination, should not have been safe. . . .

May 5th. . . . This evening the great treat of the year to me, the dinner at the Royal Academy, but I do not go. . . .

July 27th. . . . Dined on 25th at Fishmongers' Hall. There was one little episode which greatly pleased me. It came from Lord Hartington, the hero of the evening, as we had met to honour his admission to the freedom of the Company. I did not expect it, I did not know that he cared anything for me personally, or had watched my career.

The part of the speech of Lord Hartington that had so "greatly pleased" Lord Shaftesbury was as

* The widow of the Hon. Antony William Ashley.

follows: "I find upon the roll the names of Lord Grey, Lord Holland, Lord Lansdowne, Lord Brougham, Lord John Russell, Lord Althorp, and Mr. Hume; and, coming down a little further, I find the names of Lord Palmerston, Lord Clarendon, and of Mr. Cobden; and descending to our own time, I find the name of Mr. Gladstone; and last, but not least, upon the roll, I find the name of one who has been admitted not for political services, but for services purer, nobler, and more illustrious than any which we politicians can hope to render, I mean that of my noble friend who sits beside me—Lord Shaftesbury."

Oct. 30th.—Urged, some time ago, by editor of the *Nineteenth Century*, to write an article on the Progress of Remedial Science and Remedial Action during last Forty Years; after mature reflection, declined, because I found that I must be perpetually talking of myself. Engaged to-day in writing a Preface for Miss Cotton's 'Our Coffee-Room.'

. . . . I pass my time in writing 'Prefaces' by request—Thomas Wright's 'Life of Luther;' 'Uncle Tom's Biography'—and to what purpose? Is it of any service? I know not. God prosper what I have done.

Dec. 8th. . . . Wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury to denounce the book just published by the S. P. C. K., 'Arguments from Prophecy,' and to withdraw my name from the Society. Wrote also to Canon Garbett who, as a member of the Special Committee, is responsible for the issue of the work. All zeal for Christ seems to have passed away. The Ritualists have more of it than the Evangelicals. There are noble exceptions, but, as a body, 'These people honour Me with their lips; but their heart is far from Me.' . . .

Into the merits of this, and similar controversies, we do not propose to enter. At no period in the history of

the world have there been such marked, rapid, and almost universal changes in religious beliefs as in the past quarter of a century. In the midst of them all Lord Shaftesbury "stood in the old paths." The progress of Biblical criticism, the revelations of science, the march of intellect, the growth of new and original theories, never for a moment altered his view of any doctrine of Scripture by one hair's-breadth. Despite all the changes of religious beliefs in others, he, in 1878 not only stood fast to every opinion he held in 1838, but he held every shade or phase of those opinions. It is obvious, therefore, that there would be very few who would endorse his advocacy of any vexed question in theology or modern Christian philosophy, seeing that he regarded such questions from a standpoint which, it is his constant lament, even the Evangelical party had abandoned.

Two books were published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, to both of which Lord Shaftesbury took exception. One was a "Manual of Geology," by the Rev. T. G. Bonney; the other, referred to in the extract quoted above, was "The Argument from Prophecy," by the Rev. Brownlow Maitland. A long paper warfare ensued, which was published at length in the *Record* and other religious journals.

Lord Shaftesbury was keenly alive to the estimate that would be formed of him from the attitude he had taken in this controversy. He knew that the authors of the books would, in most of the journals, "appear as men of true science, who had been assailed by Ignorance

and Bigotry;" he knew that, except in one or two quarters, he would be denounced as "narrow and prejudiced," and that neither in public nor in private could he expect effectual support. It was, however, with him a matter of conscience, and, whether right or wrong as regards the position he had taken up, as it was a position in which he was placed by his conscience, he could not do otherwise than defend it.

"The slightest concession in respect of the Revealed Word," he said, "opens a door which can never be shut, and through which everything may pass."

Referring, in his Diary, to the isolation in which this controversy placed him, he wrote:—

Feb. 16th, 1878.—Who is with me? Who? Positively, I know not. Here and there an individual, perhaps; but nothing of note—nothing of moral courage among those who secretly believe (if there are any), has appeared on my side.

According to all human estimate, all human judgment, all human calculation, I must be wrong. I must be wilful, self-sufficient, ignorant, and stubborn.

I should, I suspect, say it of another in a similar position—and why, then, not of myself?

Simply because I cannot. God, in the good pleasure of His will (so I dare to think), has impressed the conviction, and the belief, irrevocably on my soul. It would be easier for me to give up Revelation altogether, and reject the whole Scriptures, than accept it on the terms, with the conditions, and the immediate and future limitations of it, imposed and exercised by 'high criticism.'

It was when this sense of isolation pressed heavily upon him, that the loss of his wife—whose life had been so bound up with his, and whose wealth of affection had made "rough places plain"—was realised in all its

crushing weight. Very touching and tender are the "strong cryings" of his soul, as he dwells on the memory of the past.

March 2nd.—The day before her death, even in her old age, she seemed to me as beautiful as the day on which I married her; and to that beauty was added the intense love of her affectionate heart and her pious spirit. Such as I had entreated of God, such had He given her to me.

Why was she taken away? God, in His wisdom, alone can know. The loss (I speak as a man) is beyond all power of language to express. O God! Thou only knowest the severity of the stroke; and how she was to me a security and a refuge. Oftentimes had we formed plans of life and happiness for our declining years. We imagined that our children might be, all of them, settled in marriage or the engagements of duty; and that we might retire to a small house, and pass the remainder of our time in serving our most blessed Lord, and comforting each other.

But His wisdom and His mercy decreed otherwise.

The year 1878 was memorable for seeing the completion of Lord Shaftesbury's life-long battle on behalf of factory operatives. In 1874, when the Factories Bill (Health of Women) was brought in, he was able to state that "the Protective Acts in the statute-book now cover a population of nearly 2,500,000 persons." Little remained, then, to be done, except in the way of consolidation, and this was effected by the legislation of 1878.

April 10th.—Last night Factory Consolidation Bill in House of Lords. Beauchamp spoke for nearly an hour; I, perhaps, for twenty-five minutes; the report of the whole in the *Times* would be read in five. Nothing could exceed Beauchamp's kind and laudatory language of the measure, and of myself in the long course of forty-five years. He said everything that could please both principle and vanity.

The final sanction of Parliament to these measures for consolidation was given in the Factories and Workshops Act of Sir Richard Cross, the Home Secretary, who had to deal with forty-five Acts extending over a period of fifty years, and by his Bill succeeded in bringing the scattered legislation into one lucid and harmonious whole. On the Second Reading of this Bill in the House of Lords, Lord Shaftesbury said:—

> I presume to thank her Majesty's Government (Lord Beaconsfield's) for the bold and manly way in which they have come forward and settled a dispute which might have become serious. It has been reserved for the present Government to give a reduction of the number of hours, and we find ourselves at last, after forty-one years of exertion, in possession of what we prayed for at the first—a Ten Hours' Bill.

Many were the glowing tributes paid in both Houses of Parliament to Lord Shaftesbury as the chief and most indefatigable promoter of Factory Legislation from its struggling origin to its successful triumph. He was congratulated on his having survived, after nearly half a century of conflict, to see at last the topstone placed on the great work to which, "from his youth up he had devoted, so much personal sacrifice, so much patient toil, and so much well-directed energy."

In the spring of this year, Lord Shaftesbury's course was very meteoric. On the 13th of April we find him in the midst of a brilliant gathering in the Free Church Assembly Hall, Edinburgh, receiving the freedom of that ancient city. In the early part of May he was in Paris, opening the Salle Evangélique at the Exhibition,

and Miss Leigh's House of Refuge and Instruction for young English women, and then back again to London and its never-ceasing work.

May 19th, Sunday.—London. May I, by His grace, die in harness; and may I, before I die, know when to desist from active share in public talking!

> 'From Marlborough's eyes the streams of Dotage flow;
> And Swift expires a Driveller and a Show!'

May 24th.—To-day to open a Congregational Chapel at Willesden, supposing, until yesterday morning (when too late to recede), that I was going to open a Workman's Hall. But it ended well. A stupendous sermon for power and appeal on the Bible, by Dr. Parker of the City Temple.

The death of Earl Russell could not but affect Lord Shaftesbury, whose public life had been, in many ways, so closely associated with his. He refers to it thus:—

May 30th.—The night before last Lord Russell departed this life at the age of eighty-six. Though removed from the public gaze for the last few years, he has been, it may be said, a conspicuous person for more than half a century. The *Times* has six columns of history and eulogy of his character and career. It seems to me just and discriminating. Those who knew him well, will hardly think that it places him too low, though he himself (for doubtless he was ambitious) might think that he was not placed sufficiently high. But to have begun with disapprobation, to have fought through many difficulties, to have announced, and acted on, principles new to the day in which he lived; to have filled many important offices, to have made many speeches, and written many books; and in his whole course to have done much with credit, and nothing with dishonour, and so to have sustained and advanced his reputation to the very end, is a mighty commendation.

During the Session there were many diverse subjects taken up by Lord Shaftesbury, among them

the welfare of the Christians of Armenia formed the subject of a question, a speech in the House of Lords, and a letter to the *Times;* while the charge of a Poor Law Amendment Bill involved him in another long speech in the House, and "heavy anxious work in various places and ways."

There were frequent relaxations, however, and in July we find him again on the Continent. From Cologne he wrote to Lord Granville, to "unburden his spirit on Foreign affairs," and to the *Times* to "express his horror of Russian and Bulgarian atrocities on Mussulmans and Christians."

To his eldest daughter he wrote as follows :—

Lord Shaftesbury to Lady Templemore.

HOMBURG, *July 26th*, 1878.

DEAREST VEA,— . . . . The place is but little changed since we were here in 1869. A few houses have been added, and the gambling establishment put down. The visitants, however, notwithstanding the annihilation of that 'earthly joy,' are far more than before. The Gardens, in the evening, are crowded, not only to excess, but beyond it. To walk is then a difficulty; to sit down is impossible, unless you go there with the lark and remain until nightfall. I read the papers and meditate in retirement on the squabbles of politicians. The Liberal party is right in its views and opinions; the Conservatives the very reverse. Both are wrong in their motives; for neither cares a straw for anything but the triumph of its own side. Though I regret my absence from the scene of exciting discussion, I rejoice almost that I can take no part in it. . . . . Much as I detest and fear the policy of the "Duke of Cyprus," I do not wish to cast in my lot with Gladstone and Company. Observe how judicious and charitable I am. I speak evil of neither faction. Both, I assert, are *equally good*. . . . .

This place recalls many sad things. The last time we were here

we were hurried away by the intelligence of the illness of Lady Palmerston. The sudden change from the heat to the cold damp of Coblentz gave our blessed Conty a chill which neutralised what little benefit she had obtained from the air and waters. Every street and stone; and all the outsides and insides; the gardens, the music, remind me of the innocent pleasure your ever-blessed and darling mother took in all she saw and heard. I must not, and I do not, murmur. I have only daily and hourly to acknowledge God's goodness, that He permitted her to live with me for two-and-forty years!

The old Emperor of Germany, then King of Prussia, called on us in his little open carriage, and spoke feelingly of his fears for Europe. The terrible war broke out in the following year! . . .

God in His mercy be with you all!

S.

In his Diary he notes :—

Aug. 8th.—Homburg. Two days ago luncheon at the Schloss with the Crown Prince and Princess. They are truly amiable, simple, and full of good sense, and very right feeling. Sat next to her, and had much conversation on all subjects—civil and religious. She pleased me mightily.

At the end of August, Lord Shaftesbury was again in Scotland, "received, as ever, with hearty, true, and unaffected kindness" at Castle Wemyss. After a visit of a fortnight, he proceeded to Roseneath, the Duke of Argyll's place, at that time a house of mourning. In May, Lord Shaftesbury had written in his Diary :—

May 25th.—And now my dear friend, Elizabeth Argyll, one of the dearest, truest, steadiest of all those who loved me, is gone to her rest. She has for three or four years been a sufferer. I loved her, treated her, regarded her, as my daughter; and she was indeed an affectionate one to me.

Lord God, comfort the Duke. He tenderly loved her. I know well how to mourn with him. Turn his heart more and more to Christ, and that blessed atonement in the precious blood shed for us upon the Cross.

The "spirited foreign policy" of Lord Beaconsfield gave English statesmen much to ponder over. In accordance with this policy his Indian Viceroy, Lord Lytton, deserted the old tradition of "masterly inactivity," and set about trying to realise his leader's dream of a scientific frontier. In 1877, the Khan of Khelat had been induced to cede Quettah on the high road to Candahar to the English. Shere Ali, as suzerain of Khelat, saw in this transaction an encroachment on his rights and a probable menace to his dominion. Russia thought it a favourable moment to send a military embassy to Cabul, and claimed the right to disregard previous promises in consequence of the English annexation of Quettah. Lord Lytton, after giving due notice, sent an embassy towards Cabul. It numbered a thousand persons (mostly armed), "too large for a mission, too small for an army," as Lord Carnarvon said; and, at the Khyber Pass, the Afghans refused to permit its further progress. On October the 30th the British Cabinet sent an ultimatum to the Ameer, demanding the right to maintain a permanent embassy at Cabul. No answer was given, and, before the close of the year, Afghanistan was invaded by three corps under Generals Stewart, Roberts, and Biddulph.

Meanwhile, there was great excitement in England on the subject. A fierce controversy raged in the papers, and public men were compelled to state clearly the position they took with regard to the new Indian policy. Lord Lawrence, Sir James Stephens, Earl Grey, and others, strongly denounced the war, and

appealed to "eternal principles of right and wrong." The "Afghan Committee" was organised, including upon its list of members many honourable names. Amongst others, Lord Shaftesbury was appealed to, to join this Committee—

Nov. 21st.—Pressed by telegrams, twice, to join 'Afghan Committee; refused—hate the war, and distrust the Government, but could not allow the F.O. to be decanted into Trafalgar Square, and mobs and committees to take the places of Secretaries of State; nay, more, practise the Imperialism they denounce in D'Israeli.

Moreover, have no notion of being put down as a regular member of the 'Liberal Party.' Which is the more objectionable, I cannot say. The Liberals are revolutionary; the Conservatives are servile. Neither has any principle or patriotism.

Nov. 23rd.—The Parliament to be called together on Dec. 5th. Should have rejoiced in an opportunity to state feelings and opinions on this unjust and dangerous war.

Nov. 27th.—Wrote a letter to Afghan Committee to assign reason for not having joined them, adding my views of the war, and of the conduct of Gladstone's and Lord Beaconsfield's Governments. They were delighted with my condemnation of Lord Beaconsfield and prayed for instant publication, but that I should omit all that was said about Mr. Gladstone's policy. This I refused, having no intention to be a partisan, and a partner, too, of the Liberals. The letter, therefore, has fallen through, and with it my only chance, so far as I can see, of giving my opinion and feelings on this arbitrary and needless war. I cannot do it in the House of Lords; for, first, the occasion will not be open; secondly, the audience are unfriendly to me; thirdly, I distrust my remaining powers of speech. But all is right. I prayed for counsel, guidance, wisdom, and understanding; and it seems that, for the present at least, 'Silence' is my order of the day. The war is prospering. Victory seems very near, and in that happy issue the nation will condone the iniquity.

Fourthly, I might have added to the above reasons, that the debate on the address *will be a high party debate;* and I could not express what I feel without appearing to espouse the side of a

political body of men whom, in every possible sense of the word, I distrust, quite as much as I distrust Lord Beaconsfield and his followers.

The letter was subsequently published in all the papers, the only one in dispraise being the *Standard*—the official paper—which asserted that Lord Shaftesbury was "out of all date, as it had long been acknowledged that the Ameer was not to be treated like any other Power." "So then," says Lord Shaftesbury, "here is a confession from a Ministerial journal, that *justice*, the great Law of God, and the most belauded, if not the most practised, of human virtues, is to be suspended at the caprice or convenience of a Cabinet!"

Dec. 2nd.—Gladstone has spoken at Greenwich with a verbosity to exhaust a whole dictionary. His exhortations to adopt, and surpass, the American and Birmingham caucus are fierce and revolutionary, felt and urged under his fanatical impetuosity. His defence of his own Administration in respect of Shere Ali is complete, and he shows, as I suspected, that the Ameer has just and serious causes of complaint. He is an injured man. The dissection and exposure of Section 9 in Lord Cranbrook's despatch are simply a charge and a proof of the untruthfulness of the Cabinet. He takes up what I had ventured to say about 'justice to the Ameer,' 'that the Embassy was intended to be a ground of quarrel, that the people must judge and declare whether this war be lawful in the sight of God: that success in the field, and a majority in the House of Commons, will not make it otherwise than an act of violent injustice.'

Although there were many urgent matters demanding his presence at St. Giles's, Lord Shaftesbury would not leave London until the great debate on the conduct of the Government had taken place, "lest it should be said that I stayed away in fear of being

publicly called to account for my letter, and besides an opportunity and a duty might be laid upon me to show the wickedness and wantonness of this self-seeking war."

On the 10th of December, the Lords divided, with a majority of 136 in favour of the Ministry, 65 only opposing them. Referring to the Debate, which lasted for two nights, Lord Shaftesbury says:—

Solemn, important, serious, as was the subject, not a sentiment was uttered worthy of a generous mind, nor an expression used that could give moral force and dignity to speech. The main issues were never touched. All, by common consent on both sides evaded them. Their talk was a series of verbal dissections of the papers; analysis after analysis of the mind of the Ameer, and of the mind of the successive Governors-General. But the rights, the laws, and the observance of justice, the horrors of war, and the treatment of it as the 'last necessity;' how far in the sight of God such a war was permissible; and all those deep and tremendous considerations which must be present in every mind that is really Christian, were never even alluded to.

Every public discussion in which Lord Shaftesbury engaged cost him a world of suffering. His sensitiveness was extreme, and now there was added to it the fears that come with old age. He thought that when he came forward to vindicate great principles, there were fewer to support him, and, when attacked, fewer to defend.

Dec. 18th.—St. Giles's. The moment a man is said to be 'a fine man for his age' he is simply enjoying an euphonious term for a demi-twaddler. If he does anything well, people admire with a species of patronising compassion; if he does it ill, they ascribe it to actual, or approaching, imbecility.

After a sorrowful reference to his general isolation, the diary thus proceeds :—

In religious matters I know but Reeve and Spurgeon, and they are seldom or never within reach. In politics not a soul. In social matters, for the temporal and eternal welfare of the weak and needy, I have, by the love, mercy, and tenderness of our most dear Lord, a host of noble, ardent, trustworthy, precious, inestimable friends—George Holland, Gent, Smithies, Williams, Weylland, Miss Rye, Mrs. Ranyard, and many more. Here I can disburden my heart; but nowhere else. Well, I can to dear Lionel,* that staff of my old age. I bless Thee, O Lord.

For those whose names are "entered on this list of friends," Lord Shaftesbury had a deep and tender regard. Over and over again he refers to them in his Diaries and correspondence. "Nature and Religion are the bands of friendship," says old Jeremy Taylor; "excellency and usefulness are its great endearments." Lord Shaftesbury had proved the saying, and might have echoed it in the words of Ben Jonson :—

> True happiness
> Consists not in the multitude of friends,
> But in their worth and choice. Nor would I have
> Virtue a popular regard pursue;
> Let them be good that love me, though but few.

Let us see Lord Shaftesbury, for a while, in the midst of these "noble, ardent, trustworthy, precious, inestimable friends."

The Rev. J. W. Reeve was the Incumbent of Portman Chapel, Baker Street. In 1876 he accepted

* He lived in the house with him.

a Canonry at Bristol offered him by his friend Lord Cairns, who was a member of his congregation. For many years Lord Shaftesbury, when in town, attended his church, and enjoyed his ministry with a keen relish which increased, rather than diminished, as the years went on. So ardent was Mr. Reeve's attachment to Lord Shaftesbury, that when, on the death of Mr. Moore, there was a vacancy in the living of Wimborne St. Giles, Mr. Reeve was willing to sacrifice his London work and seek the obscurity of a rural village, for the sake of being able to assist his friend, whom he regarded as "called to the widest and grandest sphere of Christian labour possible to any man." In September, 1882, Canon Reeve was "gathered to his fathers," and Lord Shaftesbury paid a glowing tribute to his memory in these words :—

Sept. 29th.—A dear, good man is gone to his rest, having, by his life and preaching during some forty years, taught thousands the way to heaven. The splendid sunset under which I am writing these few words is a sign and emblem of his departure. To listen to, week by week, he was the most instructive and comforting (healthy comforting) of all preachers. I rejoice that I told him the truth when he retired from Portman Chapel, and said, 'You have ever preached Christ in His glorious simplicity.'

Perhaps no one watched and prayed over the early career of Mr. Spurgeon, the well-known Baptist minister of the Metropolitan Tabernacle, more constantly than Lord Shaftesbury. He saw, from the first, that there was a mighty mission in life before the young preacher, and despite certain eccentricities which characterised his early days and alarmed not a few, Lord

Shaftesbury, looking below the surface, was satisfied that his great gifts would become the inheritance of the whole Church of Christ. As the years passed by, these two hearts were drawn very closely together. It was significant that in 1872, when the Angel of Death was overshadowing his household, Lord Shaftesbury stole an hour or two one Sunday, when his heart was torn with sorrow, to hear that "blessed servant of God," and be comforted. In the Riviera, whither Mr. Spurgeon went from year to year, Lord Shaftesbury found his society wonderfully "stimulating and refreshing." Speaking of him one day at a meeting of the Church Pastoral Aid Society, he said, "He is a truly good man, and all must acknowledge that he is a wonderful preacher; and I will further say, that he has trained a body of men who manifest in their preaching that they possess, to a great extent, his great secret of going right to the hearts of his audience. And what is his great secret? It is simply and solely that he preaches from the heart 'Jesus Christ and Him crucified.'"

On another occasion, when Lord Shaftesbury was prevented by illness from being present at a Ragged School meeting, at which Mr. Spurgeon was to give a special address, he wrote:—

I am much grieved that I am unable to be present. I am grieved because there is no man in the country whose opinion and support in such matters I prize more highly than those of my friend, Mr. Spurgeon. It would give me singular pleasure, after nearly forty years of work in the Ragged School cause, to hear the testimony and counsel of so valuable a man. Few men have preached so much and so well, and few men have combined so practically their words

and their actions. I deeply admire and love him, because I do not believe that there lives anywhere a more sincere and simple servant of our blessed Lord. Great talents have been rightly used, and, under God's grace, have led to great issues.

The Diaries abound with references to Mr. Spurgeon similar to the following:—

June 12th, 1875.—At eleven o'clock yesterday to Spurgeon's Tabernacle, to go with him over all his various institutions, School, College, Almshouse, Orphanage. All sound, good, true, Christianlike. He is a wonderful man, full of zeal, affection, faith, abounding in reputation and authority, and yet perfectly humble, with the openness and simplicity of a child.

July 10th, 1881.—Drove to Norwood to see my friend Spurgeon. He is well, thank God, and admirably lodged. His place is lovely. His wife's health, too, is improved by change of residence. Pleasant and encouraging to visit such men and find them still full of perseverance, faith, and joy, in the service of our blessed Lord.

Friends are not always seen to the best advantage when they are in the most perfect accord. It is when a difference of opinion arises and they are obliged to take opposite courses, and yet do not waver by a hair's-breadth in their love and confidence, that their friendship shines with the strongest lustre. It was so here. At one time there was a book published which Mr. Spurgeon approved, but Lord Shaftesbury condemned. Each maintained his own position, and, in doing so, each increased his love and esteem for the other.

The Rev. C. H. Spurgeon to Lord Shaftesbury.

WESTWOOD, BEULAH HILL, UPPER NORWOOD.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I agree with you in heart and soul and faith, and so also does ———. His expressions may not be clear, but his

meaning is identical with our own. There is, however, little hope of my leading you to think so, now that Mr. —— has cast his lurid light upon the words; and therefore I will not enter into a discussion. Your action is wise, namely, to refrain from endorsing that which you do not approve of. But, I pray you, believe that, as I know ——— and am as sure of his orthodoxy as I am of my own, I cannot desert him, or retract the commendations which I am sure that he deserves; but I am none the less one with you. If you would only see ———, you would form a different estimate of him; but anyhow, I shall not love or admire you one atom the less whatever you do. I am, perhaps, more lenient than you are, because I never was able to be quite so guarded a speaker as you are. I think no man speaks so much as you do with so few blunders; but impetuous people get into muddles. I quite agree with Mr. Forster's estimate of you as certain to have been Premier had you been ambitious in that direction, for you very seldom allow your speech to get cloudy or to run over to the other side when emphasizing *this;* but pray do not expect such accuracy of us all. Here is a man who, with tears, denies the slightest complicity with heterodoxy, and says that he lives and feeds on the old fashioned truth so dear to us—well—I believe what he says, and wish that half the orthodox were as orthodox as he. The Lord ever bless and sustain you, my dear friend, and spare you to us for many years to come.

I wish, when these meetings are over, you would come and see

Your Lordship's most hearty friend,

C. H. SPURGEON.

Lord Shaftesbury to the Rev. C. H. Spurgeon.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—If ——— stands high in your esteem, it is, I am confident, because you decidedly and conscientiously believe that he holds, in all truth and earnestness, the grand vital doctrines of the Christian faith, those doctrines indispensably necessary to salvation, and which have been the life and rule of your ministerial services.

In these have been your joy and your strength. Signal as are the talents that God has bestowed upon you, they would, without preaching Christ in all His majestic simplicity, have availed you

nothing to comfort and instruct the hearts of thousands. Such being the case, who would expect you to recede, by one hair's-breadth, unless you carried your convictions with you?

Certainly not I.

Do not suppose that Mr. —— has formed my opinions for me. The book had fallen into my hands long before I had read Mr. ——'s treatise.

I am deeply gratified by your kind letter, and all its candid and friendly expressions. You must not admit any abatement of your regard and love for me. Mine towards you can never be lessened while you stand up so vigorously, so devotedly, so exclusively, for our blessed Lord.

Yours very truly,

SHAFTESBURY.

I will pay you a visit as soon as possible.

"George Yard, Whitechapel," does not sound attractive, but it was a place to which Lord Shaftesbury was drawn by many enduring ties; for there lived and laboured his friend, George Holland, one of the great fathers of mission work amongst the poorest and most degraded. For many years Lord Shaftesbury was a frequent visitor to the Mission, and what he did and said there will be told hereafter. Here we must briefly record the grounds of the friendship referred to, and we cannot do so better than in one or two extracts from the Diary—

May 31st, 1878.—Went in evening to Whitechapel. Anniversary of George Holland's work in the locality. What a miracle of labour and God's goodness in that terrible district, which, nevertheless, terrible as it is, produces many instances of truth and virtue.

In August, 1878, when recording in his Diary the return of Lord Beaconsfield from the Conference at

Berlin, and the ovation given to him at the Mansion House, Lord Shaftesbury says :—

The steps of this mighty man, to glory and greatness, are strides as rapid as they are broad. And yet I had rather, by far, be George Holland, of Whitechapel, than Benjamin D'Israeli, Earl of Beaconsfield.

Nov. 5th, 1880.—St. Giles's. Went on Wednesday evening to Whitechapel for Service for Ragged Children. Deeply touched. Blessed God for the sight, and that He has raised up and sustained such a genuine, ardent, lovable, and Christ-hearted man as that dear and beloved George Holland.

March 14th, 1881.—This afternoon to George Yard Ragged School. It is touching to see the smile of those small outcasts when one pats their cheeks, with words of praise and affection. It does one good, heart and mind. And so it does to see that inestimable man, George Holland, and converse with him. I had rather be George than ninety-nine-hundredths of the great living and dead. What a servant of our beloved and precious Lord !

March 17th, 1882.—Hear that George Holland is not well. What shall I do if the dear, blessed man be taken away, or incapacitated ? God, in Thy goodness, forbid it !

One day, when speaking to the writer of Mr. George Holland, Lord Shaftesbury said :—"I know of nothing like his zeal ; he has laboured for the last twenty years night and day ; he has given all his time, all his talents, all his life, to his work ; and he is just as fresh, as earnest, and as enthusiastic as he was twenty years ago. I never saw his like. He seems to live in the full light of God. And did you ever see such a face as his ? It is always radiant. It does me as much good to see George Holland's face as to hear a sermon."

To Mr. Gent and his lifelong services in the cause of Ragged Schools we have already referred. Lord

Shaftesbury said, on one occasion, when presenting him with a testimonial from the ragged scholars and teachers:—

No man living, my friends, has a greater right to speak of Joseph Gent than I have. I have been associated with him for nearly forty years. We have not been on ordinary terms. I have known him intimately; I have acted with him frequently by day and by night; I have visited with him the dens of human misery and wickedness; and I have ever found him active, zealous, intelligent, honourable, and sympathetic. He feared no responsibility. Having one object before him, which was so great and so good, he felt that to be quite sufficient. He was always ready to devote his time, his talents, and everything he possessed to the accomplishment of the immediate object before him, though it may, perhaps, have been no more than the rescue of the most wretched creature to be found in this vast metropolis.

On a wall in Lord Shaftesbury's library in Grosvenor Square there hung two portraits—one, that of a motherly lady surrounded by her dogs; the other, that of an earnest-looking man wearing a skull cap. He always spoke of them as "Eunice" and "Timothy." They were portraits of Mrs. Smithies and her son, Mr. T. B. Smithies, the Editor of the *British Workman*, and the originator of innumerable good things for the welfare of men and the "inferior animals." For him Lord Shaftesbury had a profound regard, and went heart and soul with him in his labours—not only to prevent cruelty to animals, but to encourage kindness and affection for them.

Those were sad days to Lord Shaftesbury in which he made the following entries in his Diary:—

July 20th, 1883.—Six o'clock. Just heard by telegram from Miss Smithies that her brother is at the point of death. God in His mercy has seldom given a better man to refresh and comfort this earth; and He is now taking him to Heaven. I loved the man; I highly esteemed him. He has been invaluable in his generation. I know that I enjoyed his respect and love; and now another of my dear and precious friends will be gathered to his rest in the arms of that blessed and only Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, whom he so faithfully served, and so humbly and tenderly adored. His sister, dear woman, is worthy of him.

July 27th.—Went yesterday to Abney Park Cemetery, to attend the funeral of that dear and true saint of our blessed Lord, T. B. Smithies. To whom, better than to him, can the text be applied, 'Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord?'

Time would fail to tell of Mr. William Williams, of the Refuges and Training Ships; of Mr. Weylland, of the London City Mission; of Miss Rye and her Canadian Emigration schemes; of Mrs. Ranyard, her Bible Women and Bible Houses, and her directing and controlling administrative powers, such as few statesmen have possessed; and the "many more" who made up Lord Shaftesbury's list of friends. To these all he gave no mean gift when, as to the others we have mentioned more particularly, he gave ungrudgingly his confidence and affection; from these he received not a little when they supported him, as they did, loyally and nobly in his great work, upbearing him in their prayers, and stimulating him by their zeal.

When, in the far-off times, "an host compassed the city both with horses and chariots," in a fit of despondency the servant of Elisha cried, "'Alas, Master, how shall we do?' Then his eyes were opened; and he

saw; and behold the mountain was full of horses and chariots of fire round about Elisha."

It was only when Lord Shaftesbury was compassed about with labours enough to tax the strength of half a dozen men that he grew depressed, and nervous, and morbidly sensitive, and exclaimed, "I have not a friend to whom I can open my heart and hope for sympathy." But "when his eyes were opened," and he sought to name the host of "noble, ardent, trustworthy, precious, inestimable friends," he was not equal to the task. He names but half a dozen, and adds "and many more." The "mountain was full" of noble men and honourable women of every rank, of every sphere of labour, of almost every land and clime, who loved him and whom he loved.

CHAPTER XXXV.

1879—1882.

Bill for Regulation of Mills and Factories in India—An Old Theme—Habitual Drunkards Bill—Vivisection—Scenes of the Past—Manor House, Chiswick—Wales—A Congeries of Troubles—Political Prospects—Centenary of Sunday Schools—At Gloucester—Coming Changes—State of Ireland—Letter to Mr. Evelyn Ashley—Diary of Political Events—The Snapping of Old Ties—Lord Beaconsfield—80th Birthday—Celebration in Guildhall—Letters—Lines by Miss F. P. Cobbe—Open-Air Preaching—In Whitechapel—General Garfield—Correspondence with Mr. Russell Lowell—The Opium Trade—Among the Costers—Reverence, the Basis of all True Religion—The Salvation Army—Letters to Admiral Fishbourne—Letter from Dean Law—Persecution of Jews in Russia—The Oath of Allegiance—Studying the Scriptures—"One Tun" Ragged School—A Christmas Gathering—Death of Mr. Haldane—At Willesden Cemetery—A Thirty Years' Correspondence—Some Gems of Thought and Expression.

THE first important work to which Lord Shaftesbury turned his attention this year related to a field on which he had expended his earliest public labours—the welfare of India.

A year had scarcely elapsed since the passing of the Act to amend and consolidate the law relating to Factories and Workshops, when a cry from India compelled him to "resume the weapons he had long ceased to handle," and stand forth as the champion of the women and children of India, who were suffering under a grinding oppression, even worse than that from which the women and children of England had been delivered. Under successive Governments Lord Shaftesbury called

attention to the cruel system in operation in the Bombay factories, but without effect—a system as barbarous as that which once existed in this country, but aggravated, in a fourfold degree, by the heat of an Indian climate, and the disregard of a weekly day of rest.

The time had come when he must make one final effort on their behalf.

March 29th.—Heavily pressed and heavily oppressed. Have lost all my former buoyancy, and contemplate effort with something akin to terror. Lie down very much for short intervals; and so get strength and a whiff of courage. Heartily pray to God, hour by hour, that I may have power to discharge the 'few things that remain;' but feel, in some measure, like Saul. Surely, as of old, the doubt and sorrow will pass away on the day of trial. Indian children must be pleaded for before a hostile Ministry and an unsympathising House.

On the 4th of April he moved that an address be presented to Her Majesty, "praying that Her Majesty will be graciously pleased to instruct the Viceroy of India to take into immediate consideration the necessity of passing a law for regulating the labour of women and children in the mills and factories throughout her dominions in India."

In a speech of commanding eloquence, which occupied an hour in delivery, he set forth a mass of evidence and a series of convincing arguments founded upon it; and then the old Lancashire days of half a century ago flashed across his memory, and he exclaimed:—

Why, my lords, what more do you require? The whole evidence of 1833 rises up as a witness against them. Creed and colour,

latitude and longitude, make no difference in the essential nature of man. No climate can enable infants to do the work of adults, or turn suffering women into mere steam-engines.

In meeting the argument, if argument it might be called, urged in palliation of the labour, that it was light, he said no doubt much of it was light if measured by the endurance of three or four minutes :—

But what say you, my lords, to a continuity of toil, in a standing posture, in a poisonous atmosphere, during thirteen hours, with fifteen minutes of rest? Why, the stoutest man in England, were he made, in such a condition of things, to do nothing during the whole of that time but be erect on his feet and stick pins in a pincushion, would sink under the burden. What say you, then, of children—children of the tenderest years? Why, they become stunted, crippled, deformed, useless. I speak what I know; I state what I have seen.

Again there arose the vision of the past. He was living once more amid the old horrors of earlier years; and there passed before his eyes a scene at Bradford in 1838, when Mr. John Hardy, "the worthy father of the noble Secretary of State for India, was Member for that borough, and one of his most hearty supporters." He thus recalled it :—

I asked for a collection of cripples and deformities. In a short time more than eighty were gathered in a large courtyard. They were mere samples of the entire mass. I assert without exaggeration that no power of language could describe the varieties, and I may say the cruelties, in all these degradations of the human form. They stood or squatted before me in the shapes of the letters of the alphabet. This was the effect of prolonged toil on the tender frames of children at early ages. When I visited Bradford under the limitation of hours, some years afterwards, I called for a similar exhibition of cripples; but, God be praised, there was not one to be

found in that vast city. Yet the work of these poor sufferers had been light, if measured by minutes, but terrific when measured by hours.

It was a remarkable speech. The old theme brought back the youthful energy, and it was impossible to realise that the speaker was fast approaching his four-score years.

The movement was a success as far as Lord Shaftesbury was concerned. A Bill on the subject was passed in India for the regulation of labour in the factories. In many respects, however, it has failed to accomplish the purpose it was designed to effect, as there is no public opinion in India to demand that its provisions shall be strictly enforced.

More successful, in some respects, was another measure, which, in the same Session, Lord Shaftesbury carried through the House of Lords—The Habitual Drunkards Bill. It had come up from the House of Commons, where Mr. Dalrymple, "a gentleman, of whose labours, intelligence, and zeal it was impossible to speak too highly," had watched over it with infinite pains. It passed into law, and Lord Shaftesbury became the President of the Society for the Establishment of the Dalrymple Homes or Retreats for Inebriates.

On the 16th of July, he delivered his second important speech, in the House of Lords, against Vivisection, when supporting Lord Truro's Bill for its total abolition. His argument was to the effect that whether Vivisection were conducive to the advance of science, or the reverse, there was one great preliminary considera-

tion: on what authority of Scripture, or any other form of Revelation, did his opponents rest their right to subject God's creatures to unspeakable sufferings? The animals were His creatures, as we were His creatures, and "His tender mercies," we are told in the Bible, "are over all His works."

Excellent as was the pleading, it was unavailing, and the Bill was lost.

The shadows of evening were lengthening, and, in the pauses of his still busy life, we find Lord Shaftesbury looking back on the long journey he had travelled, and dwelling in memory amidst the scenes in which his youth had been passed. But the ruling passion of turning thought into action was as strong within him as ever, and we find him not only reviewing the past, but visiting the places with which its memories were connected. Thus he seeks out the old school house at Chiswick, where his early childhood was embittered, but where he first learnt to sympathise with the sorrowful and the oppressed; and he visits Wales, where the "floating impressions of a life of service" became fixed and rooted.

July 31st.—Went yesterday to Chiswick to see the place where I was at school now sixty-seven years ago. It was a horrible time I spent there—the Manor House—and now a Lunatic Asylum. The two fronts almost unchanged; everything else completely transformed.

Oct. 16th.—Carnarvon. Ran down here to take chair of Anniversary of Bible Society. Had never before visited the principality as President—and yet well do they deserve such a mark of respect, for their zeal in love of the Bible is unbounded; and their liberality vast, according to their means. It was a duty; and it became a

pleasure. These Welsh people are lively, ardent, earnest, exuberant, and yet honest, in feeling. A magnificent meeting—at least five thousand persons, and all of one mind. God Almighty, for Christ's sake, look down on this 'small and feeble folk' struggling to serve Thee, and advance Thy precious Name in this world of iniquity. As for myself it was an 'ovation,' not a reception. The children of the Sunday Schools first came to meet me; God and His Christ bless their souls throughout the ages of eternity.

Referring to this ovation, which gave him unqualified pleasure, he says in a note, written to Mr. Haldane on the following day:—

I have seldom seen such sustained and real enthusiasm. It is wonderful that God so supported me that my voice never faltered, and I was heard (so I was informed by persons at the very end of the hall) to the extent of every syllable. Strange to say (I thank God for it), I never was less fatigued in my life; and I rejoice, beyond measure, that I undertook the duty and discharged it.

In the early part of this year, Mr. Petter (of the firm of Cassell, Petter, and Galpin) commenced to urge Lord Shaftesbury to allow his biography to be written during his lifetime and with his co-operation. Although Mr. Petter used every argument that he thought would have weight, he was unable at that time to induce Lord Shaftesbury to entertain the proposition. Owing to his state of health, the matter was allowed to drop for awhile, but towards the close of the year Mr. Petter returned to the charge, fortifying himself with fresh arguments, having enlisted on his side the assistance of Mr. Haldane, to whom he wrote: "It (the biography) would, in my judgment, be a starting-point for the re-awakening of sound religious effort."

In a lengthy letter to Mr. Petter, Lord Shaftesbury set forth his views on the subject. "I feel very deeply the honour of the proposition," he wrote, "and I am much gratified that it should have come from the representative of the distinguished firm which still bears, among others, the name of my valued friend, the late Mr. Cassell." After examining the difficulties attending the "writing of a biography fully and impartially during the lifetime of the subject of it," he proceeded to consider the various classes of the world of readers, or, whom with his characteristic self-depreciation, he thought unlikely to take any interest in a memoir of himself. In the event, however, of a demand for a memoir, he said: "I am quite content to rest on things as they are, and leave to posterity to judge me according to the information they may have, or forget me altogether; but if a life is to be written, and in great measure under my correction, I should strongly urge the introduction of much to show the principles on which I acted, the difficulties I had to contend with, the motives which prompted me, the multifarious labours I undertook, and the success or failure which attended them. The whole of that, so far as my notoriety is concerned, may go to 'the tomb of all the Capulets,' but if I am to be shown up alive or dead, I should desire to be shown up as I am, or as I was, and not in a picture drawn by well-disposed or ill-disposed ignorance."

At that time Lord Shaftesbury had in his mind the fixed intention of destroying his journals and other

documents; and as it seemed to him impossible that the conditions indicated in the foregoing passage could be fulfilled, he concludes: "Is it not better to leave the world to judge me as I stand before them? What they see they believe; what they do not see they would not believe, though I assured them of it. If their judgment be favourable, it will be pleasant to my family; if it be the reverse, it would do no harm to myself whether I be dead or among the living."

Mr. Petter felt impelled to urge Lord Shaftesbury to reconsider the question, and a voluminous correspondence ensued. At length, as shown in the preface, Lord Shaftesbury felt that a biography was "inevitable," and he made arrangements for the preparation of the present work.

The close of 1879 and the beginning of 1880 found Lord Shaftesbury in the midst of a congeries of troubles —a long and painful illness, which at length reached an alarming crisis; serious financial difficulties, arising from failure of trade and harvest; and a second dangerous illness of his son Cecil. Notwithstanding these things, with the first return of comparatively good health, he was again at work on things new and old. Among them was an effort in aid of the Armenian Church, within whose borders a remarkable movement towards Protestant Reformation was taking place. It was their desire to establish in Armenia a form of Church government similar to that of the Church of England. Archbishop Migherditch came to this country to obtain assistance in the movement, and a meeting was held at

Lambeth Palace on behalf of the cause, at which Lord Shaftesbury was the principal speaker.

It was not possible for him to take any more active part than this, for, as he noted in his Diary :—

Personally now I must share my action according to my power of mind and body. Though strong physically, all things considered, for one at my time of life, I must moderate exertion and keep within due limits. Suffer frequently a great deal of discomfort, but not much from sheer weakness, though certainly could not stand any very prolonged effort of voice or body. Seek, far more than formerly, the relief of a sofa or an arm-chair. Mentally, reluctant to exertion; shrink from any thought when making a speech ; and when driven to it, find that the imagination is not lively ; and whatever is produced less easily clothed in words than in former days. Shall give up all thought of anything in House of Lords or on eminent platforms. . . . Can take, then, no part in the coming struggles, brief and useless, between the Radicalism of the Commons and the Conservatism of the Lords, but still shall have strength, by God's mercy, to look after Ragged Schools, and rescue a few poor creatures from misery and sin.

For his invalid daughter-in-law, the Hon. Mrs. Evelyn Ashley, Lord Shaftesbury had the most tender affection, and during her enforced residence abroad, in search of health, he was wont to send her frequent long and cheery letters, full of the details which he knew would please and interest her.

Lord Shaftesbury to the Hon. Mrs. Evelyn Ashley.

THE SAINT, *Jan.*, 1880.

DEAREST SISSEY,—Not one happy New Year, but many, to you all, Edy, Lilian, Dovey, Wilfrid, not forgetting Sandy,* and say

* A favourite dog

the same to my old and dear friend, Lady Mary, to Charlotte, Blanche, to Minnie when she arrives, and any one I may have left out.

I had a letter from you dated the 27th of December, and I can assure you that my anxieties for Sandy were equal to your own; and as Solomon, the fruiterer, could not sleep because of thinking how in the world he should supply Palmerston with oranges, so I had restless nights in turning over schemes for the cure and treatment of that precious animal. . . .

I have just received Edy's letter. I am so glad that he has given up his pilgrimage to Crete and Algeria. He will be wanted in Ireland; and the time now is very short before we recommence our tedious and necessary nonsense in Parliamentary things. . . .

Now, how are you, my dear? Better, I trust, and full of hope. You must not answer my letters; a message through Hilda, to whom you disburden your mind, will be enough. . . .

I have had the agitators here; they came to stir the people to a sense of their wrongs and an assertion of their rights. They earnestly requested the use of the schoolroom, which I gave them, and, 'to do the thing handsome,' paid for the lights. The Chairman, Mr. Chadwick, of Manchester, G.P.L.U., and a hundred other letters, desired that I should be informed that he had frequently sat near me in the factory districts when I was fighting the battle of the women and children! I daresay in his 'hortation' to the labourers he 'served me out' famously. Nevertheless it is right to treat these chaps with courtesy, and 'snooks,' as the phrase is, what they say or do.

Now, Sissey, mind that you take proper care of yourself. Dr. Edy in his letter to me has well described the climate. It is fine, but treacherous, and will play you ten times more tricks than Old England in twenty years. Do not be over-hasty to take drives; and if you take one, let it be before two o'clock, that is for the present and the next month. . . .

God bless you, my dear. We think of you at the rising and setting of the sun, by day and by night. 'Heaviness may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning.' So will it be, by God's grace, with you.

Yours affectionately,

S.

And again later on to the same—

October, 1881.

Our barometer is in a singular state of disquiet and apprehension. It rises and falls an inch every twelve hours; ten degrees of frost one night and a foot of rain the next. It puts me much in mind of poor Forster and his conduct of affairs in Ireland; though, doubtless, if the truth were known, he only reflects the Cabinet.

They complain of the want of support from the loyal in Ireland. They are like the old press-gang who 'knocked down' a man and then told him 'to stand.' By conniving at the demoralisation of a people they have greatly advanced their own. All dignity of government has gone. They may possibly try to rule by force; but they can never again do so by authority.

Sir Wilfrid Lawson is, I see, at his pranks again. In a speech at Whitehaven he commends Gladstone's coming English Land Bill as likely to 'get rid of poor Peers, who are miserable beings.' Surely they are no worse than rich buffoons!

The General Election in the spring of 1880 had excited his apprehensions, and the result filled him with anxiety.

May 19th.—The issue of the present state of things as clear as though it were the past. Should this Government continue to hold power, the changes towards Democracy, or what is equivalent thereto, American institutions, will be sharp, rapid, and many.

Indeed, so qualified and diluted are the sentiments and feelings of the country, that a strong Conservative Government could now only retard the fulfilment of the hopes and efforts of the Schools of Birmingham and Manchester.

In 1880, the Centenary of Sunday Schools was celebrated; nowhere with greater enthusiasm than in the ancient city of Gloucester, where Robert Raikes was born, where he founded the noble institution which has been a blessing throughout Christendom, and where he died, and was buried. To commemorate the Centenary, it was decided to raise a monument in the Cathedral Church to its famous citizen, and on a certain day to

unveil the model of the statue in the Shire Hall. By universal consent, Lord Shaftesbury was the only man who should perform that duty.

With crowds lining the streets, flags and banners flying, church bells pealing, and lusty voices shouting, it was little thought, as the venerable peer passed through the town, accompanied by his old friend, Mr. Haldane, that his heart was sinking within him in a very paroxysm of nervous anxiety—the state of mind aptly described, as he says, by the familiar saying, "not knowing what may happen next."

June 27th.—Sunday. Day opens brightly. To-morrow must start for Gloucester to Celebration of Centenary of Raikes and Sunday Schools; and returning on Wednesday, with a pause of only two hours, go to Isle of Wight for same purpose.

June 28th.—About to start for Gloucester; heavily oppressed by a cold; and in low spirits. Anything but fit for this work. God be with me.

The prayer was answered. He received the Mayor and Corporation, the Centenary Committee, the inevitable "address," and he successfully accomplished the speeches in reply, the "great" speech at the unveiling, and another in the Shire Hall in the evening.

Two hours after his return from Gloucester, he was on his way to the Isle of Wight, whither he went at the request of his son Evelyn, who was Member for the island. The centenary took place in the open air within the picturesque enclosure of the ruins of Carisbrooke Castle.

July 1st, 1880. Landguard Manor, the residence of the very kind and hospitable Col. and Lady Isabel Atherley. Returned from

Carisbrooke; meeting very good; many clergy; the principal Wesleyan minister and an army of teachers; did my best; not wearied.

On his return, he took part in a monster celebration in London, at the unveiling of the statue of Raikes on the Thames Embankment.

Very little was done by Lord Shaftesbury in the House of Lords this year. He spoke, however, on the Employers' Liability Bill, the Hares and Rabbits Bill, and the Irish Registration Bill. But, although he took a less active part than usual, his interest in politics was even more keenly alive, and he recommenced his "Diary of Political Observations," after an interval of nearly twenty years. The events referred to are of too recent occurrence to be dwelt upon here. To him they were full of significance; the return of Mr. Bradlaugh for Northampton; the democratic spirit in the Cabinet; the agitated state of Ireland; the vehemence of the demand for Home Rule;—these and many other "signs of the times" convinced him that a conflict was approaching "speedy, clear, and sharp." The spirit of change was everywhere at work, and it seemed to him as though the decree had gone forth, "Overturn, overturn, overturn!" The thought of this "democratic, socialistic, revolutionary" principle, working and spreading, filled him with the gloomiest apprehensions. Thus, when at St. Giles's among his tenantry, he writes:—

Oct. 20th.—We may benefit a little the rising generation, but we can do nothing for posterity, as the whole system of things is about to be broken up. The relations between the peasantry and

the proprietor, the tenant and the landlord, have already a new complexion. The commercial principle has taken the place, to a vast extent, of the mitigated feudal principle; and the forthcoming Land Laws will speedily demolish the great estates, and scatter the old families to the winds, with all the traditions, feelings, habits, and affections of many generations.

There will be no inheritance among his people, to a man's prayers and labours on their behalf. There will be no more a farmer to say, 'I have lived for 200 years on the same farm under the same family,' as the Shepards here can say; no more a cottager, as at Purton, 'I, and mine, have lived in this cottage, under you and yours, for 250 years.'

Such are the changes in social life, decided, remorseless, inevitable. May the issue be for the general benefit of the human race.

The state of Ireland was so constantly in the thoughts of Lord Shaftesbury that, for some time, it formed the principal subject of the entries in the Diaries as well as of his correspondence. Thus he notes: "Have written to Gladstone and Duke of Argyll to mark that a social Revolution is begun, for, whatever they do in respect of Land Laws in Ireland, they must do in Great Britain." It was the burden of his daily prayer, "Raise us some true men, and come among us. 'Prevent us, O Lord, in all our doings with Thy most gracious favour.' May our rulers be taught what is Thy will in the matter of Ireland."

Lord Shaftesbury to the Hon. Evelyn Ashley.

ST. GILES'S, *Dec. 28th*, 1880.

DEAR EVELYN,—Your letter arrived yesterday. The state of things in Ireland is altogether anti-social. It is no longer a question of politics, religion, or remediable grievance. It strikes at the very

foundation of property, morals, and all the habits and laws that govern and maintain the existence of civilised life. No land scheme, to be proposed by the Government, can have even a temporary effect; and Separation, with a Local Parliament, the real object they have in view, will be the utter ruin of Ireland, and an immense danger to Great Britain.

No doubt we have entered on an era in the history of mankind when changes in the order of things are inevitable. But the policy of such men as Beaconsfield and Gladstone turn these movements, which should, and which might, be gradual, into sudden and violent Revolutions. The Act of 1867 tore up our political system, and Gladstone's rule, at the present day, is uprooting, and irrevocably, our social system.

Albert Grey writes word, 'There will be a very angry meeting of the House of Commons.' Possibly; but to what use?

The Ministers have lost, it is true, the confidence of the several classes above that which holds the bulk of the suffrage. Among these they are as powerful as ever; not because the voters admire them as men; but because they look to them as their allies and leaders in a new and better arrangement and distribution of property.

Love to dear Sissey, with endless prayers for her health and her return here. Our Christmas was very meagre compared with the gatherings I have enjoyed. But God's will be done.

Affectionately yours,

S.

In his "Diary of Political Events," which he still occasionally used, he epitomises the progress of the discussion on Mr. Gladstone's Irish Bills, and prophesies the issue thus:—

January 18th, 1881.—The Report of Debates in this morning's papers, specially *Times*, discloses, at once and unmistakably, the intentions of the Home Rulers, as explained by Messrs. Parnell and Dillon. It is separation and dismemberment of the Empire, as soon as the Irish are strong enough to 'fight for it.' Well did Sir

Stafford Northcote observe that it was a 'Defiant' speech, in which he placed himself as alone equal to the whole House of Commons, both willing and able to treat it as a Co-ordinate Power.

One of the saddest things in connection with old age is the constant snapping of the ties that bind a man to his generation. The wide social circle that once surrounded Lord Shaftesbury was narrowing daily; one after another of his contemporaries was passing away, and he was almost able to count upon his fingers the remaining friends of his early life who were left.

For some years past, the entries of deaths in the Diary had become very numerous; and strangely felicitous were the epitaphs he wrote. Thus in 1879 he mourns the death of Lord Lawrence: "Gentle as a woman in sentiment and action, he was harder than iron under a sense of duty; he was never so happy as when exercising power in love." Of Lady Charlotte Sturt, he says: "My dear, ancient, and aged friend, another of my true, long-tried, and beloved friends, is gone. She rejoiced in works of mercy, piety, and love." In 1880, Dean Hugh McNeile died: "He was more than a star when in his prime. He was a burning and a shining light, bold, true, unflinching—a magnificent specimen of eloquence, feeling, and argumentation; a grand, true, and blessed servant of our Lord." Of Lady Jocelyn: "Another link is severed. She was the only sister of my beloved wife." Of Miss Waldegrave: "Dear old Harriet Waldegrave is gone, aged eighty-seven. A better woman, more sensible, more true, more pious, has seldom lived."

The deaths of public men, whether personal friends or not, are also frequently recorded. Thus:—

April 19th, 1881.—Beaconsfield departed this life at five o'clock this morning. Few careers have been so remarkable, exhibiting such power of perseverance, such a singleness of purpose from the very commencement, such daring ambition at the outset, and such complete success at the end. Vast abilities, great penetration, and self-command, made every one subservient to him. He was aided, no doubt, by the total want of men to compete with him on the Conservative side. But, making every allowance, weighing every peculiar advantage, he was a wonderful man in his generation! But was he a useful one?

Lord Beaconsfield had a high appreciation of Lord Shaftesbury, and, under his banner, contributed to the success of the later Factory Legislation. He paid a noble tribute to Lord Shaftesbury in 1877: "All the honour and the glory belong to him. . . . The name of Lord Shaftesbury will descend to posterity as one who has, in his generation, worked more than any other individual to elevate the condition, and to raise the character, of his countrymen."

On the 28th of April, 1881, Lord Shaftesbury attained his eightieth year. It was celebrated as a national event. Under the auspices of the Lord Mayor (The Right Hon. William McArthur, M.P.), the committee of the Ragged School Union took the initiative to do honour to their President, and a great meeting in the Guildhall was arranged to celebrate the day, to do honour to his lifelong work, and to present him with a portrait of himself, painted by Mr. B. S. Marks.

Rarely, if ever, was there such a meeting held in

that historic Hall. Every part of the great building was crowded long before the commencement of the proceedings, while on the platform was assembled a distinguished company, including members of both Houses of Parliament, ministers of the Gospel, notable merchants, ladies and gentlemen of all shades of opinion and of all stations, representing every estimable phase of political, religious, and social life, all with one common object in view, to do honour to the man who had proved himself the greatest benefactor of his generation. It was a singularly impressive scene, that vast and brilliant assembly. But not one whit less impressive, nay, it may be said that far more impressive, was the scene outside the building, where flower girls with their well-filled baskets of spring flowers, costermongers with their gaily-dressed donkeys and barrows, and Ragged School children thronged around the hero of the day, scattering flowers in his path, and pouring upon him "the blessing of the poor and of him that was ready to perish."

The Earl of Aberdeen, Mr. W. E. Forster, Mr. H. R. Williams, and the Lord Mayor were the principal speakers, and singularly appropriate and admirable were the addresses delivered. When Lord Shaftesbury rose to reply to the address and to acknowledge the presentation, he was greeted with an overwhelming ovation —a perfect tempest of applause. Lord Shaftesbury was calm, self-possessed, and thoughtful, and in his speech, amid all the excitement and fatigue, he did not omit one essential point, one tribute of gratitude

to the many who had supported him in his lifelong labours, one point of interest in the review of that part of his career on which he touched.

There were many incidents in this magnificent celebration which deeply affected him; but nothing did so more than the manly and generous speech of Mr. W. E. Forster. He valued it, not because Mr. Forster was a member of the Government, nor because of his high official position and personal character, but because he was himself a millowner in Yorkshire, who knew the evils which had existed in the factory districts, and who had been one of the first to speak a kind word to him on his earliest visit to the town of Bradford. Mr. Forster's personal reminiscences went back for half a century—to the time when, as a boy, he saw Lord Ashley on horseback "coming to contest a Dorsetshire constituency in the Tory interest, followed by a Tory mob." We cannot quote the speech, but there was one expression in it, relating to Lord Shaftesbury's conduct of the Factory Movement, which particularly gratified him, inasmuch that over and over again his injunctions were: "If any thing is told of my life after I am gone, let those words of Forster's be recorded—I don't think, in the whole course of my life, any words ever gratified me more." The words were these: "The good conduct on the part of the population was in a great measure due to the moderating influences which were brought to bear on them by Lord Ashley. How I do wish that all agitators, when they are advocating the removal of great and real grievances, would take an example from the way in

which Lord Ashley conducted that agitation, and remember with what care they should consider both the immediate and the ultimate effect of what they say upon those who are suffering."

A record of the proceedings at the Guildhall, and of the speeches that were delivered, was issued in book form and presented, by the committee of the Ragged School Union and the children and teachers of the Ragged Schools, to Lord Shaftesbury. In the fly-leaf of his special copy he wrote: "Deep and lively is my gratitude to the men who conceived, organised, and executed this celebration, and much do I feel the sympathy of those who honoured it by their presence."

Gratifying as the public recognition of the day was, the private celebration of it was not less so. Letters of congratulation poured in from high and low, rich and poor; addresses from corporate bodies were sent, telegrams were flashed from distant places, and presents were lavished, none of them more highly prized than some paper flowers made and presented by the little children of the One Tun Ragged School.

The letters received that day lie on the table before the writer. Never was there stronger testimony to a man's worth; never better proof of the affectionate regard in which he was held by old and young, and by men and women of all shades of opinion. It is impossible to enumerate them. But there were letters from the Archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal Manning, Dean Stanley, the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, Lord Carnarvon, Lord Lytton, Lord Portman,

Lord Radstock, Lady Elcho, Lady Portsmouth, Lady Stratford de Redcliffe, Miss F. P. Cobbe, Mr. W. E. Forster, Mr. Braithwaite, Mr. Alexander Redgrave, Mr. H. R. Williams, a "Converted Infidel," Sunday and Ragged School Teachers and Scholars, a Ragged School Prize-winner, Tenants on the St. Giles's estates, and Working Men. Among them all, perhaps, none is more touchingly beautiful than the following simple lines from his aged sister Lady Charlotte Lyster :—

TUNBRIDGE WELLS, *April 28th.*

I have thought much of you to day, you dear, blessed darling. May God continue to watch over your most precious life.

Your devoted Sister,

CHAR.

The following lines were written by Miss F. P. Cobbe :—

A BIRTHDAY ADDRESS TO ANTONY ASHLEY COOPER, 7TH EARL OF SHAFTESBURY, K.G., APRIL 28TH, 1881.

For eighty years! Many will count them over,
But none save He who knoweth all may guess
What those long years have held of high endeavour,
Of world-wide blessing and of blessedness.

For eighty years the champion of the right;
Of hapless child neglected and forlorn;
Of maniac dungeoned in his double night;
Of woman overtasked and labour-worn;

Of homeless boy in streets with peril rife;
Of workman sickening in his airless den;
Of Indian parching for the streams of life;
Of Negro slave in bonds of cruel men.

O ! Friend of all the friendless 'neath the sun,
Whose hand hath wiped away a thousand tears,
Whose fervent lips and clear, strong brain have done
God's holy service, lo ! these eighty years—

How meet it seems thy grand and vigorous age
Should find, beyond man's race, fresh pangs to spare,
And for the wronged and tortured brutes engage
In yet fresh labours and ungrudging care !

Oh, tarry long amongst us ! Live, we pray ;
Hasten not yet to hear thy Lord's 'Well done !'
Let this world still seem better, while it may
Contain one soul like thine amid its throng.

Whilst thou art here our inmost hearts confess,
Truth spake the kingly Seer of old who said—
'Found in the way of God and righteousness,
A crown of glory is the hoary head.'

During this year the "chairs" were "exceptionally heavy," and, although in almost constant suffering, Lord Shaftesbury succeeded in fulfilling nearly every engagement, and continuing the same amount of arduous labour which had taxed his strength even when a much younger man.

May 26th.—Several chairs and several speeches. In very bad heart. Feel no elasticity ; see no light. Must make speeches, but, strange to say, hate it more and more every day, for every day it becomes more difficult.

June 1st.—Yesterday opened Bazaar in Cannon Street for Daughters of Missionaries ; then to chair of Inebriate Females ; afterwards to House of Lords, and dined with Lady Ashburton to meet Miss Marsh.

July 1st.—At Harrow,* heard one of the boys recite the perora-

* At the annual speech-day, the head-master, Dr. Butler, had arranged that Hood's "Song of the Shirt" should on the programme immediately precede Lord Ashley's Factory Speech. The "surprise" was very effective.

tion of a speech I delivered in House of Commons on 15th March, 1844, in propounding a Factory Bill. I wonder what people thought of it. In my own reflections I said, 'Age has effaced a great deal of what I once was. I could not make such a speech *now*.'

July 2nd.—Went to Mile End, beyond Whitechapel, to see the crowds of those swarming districts on Fairlop Fair Day. Met the whole band of open-air preachers, who go out to 'speak the word in season.' The harvest is scanty, but some are rescued! and who can tell the value of those few in the sight of God?

Lord Shaftesbury was a warm advocate of open-air preaching, and, on the occasion referred to above, was himself an Open-Air Preacher, for when he was asked to say a few words to the assembly on the Mile End Waste, he immediately responded. Two years later, at the annual meeting of the Open-Air Mission, held in the Mansion House, he said:—

I look upon these open-air services as perfectly normal; they are certainly primitive; the very earliest preaching of the Gospel was in the Open Air, on the shores of the Lake of Galilee, by our blessed Lord Himself. And they are unquestionably ecclesiastical. In the earliest times of the Reformation there was Open-Air Preaching at Paul's Cross. All the worthiest of the bishops preached there; there, too, the bishop of glorious memory, Bishop Latimer, preached the Gospel of the Kingdom of God, and hundreds heard those words of truth which went right home to their hearts, and brought forth good fruit in after-days.

Within a stone's throw of this very hall in which we are now assembled, on the steps of the Royal Exchange, the worthy Archbishop Tait also preached the Word of God in the open air, and never was he more truly episcopal than on that occasion.

The Diary continues:—

July 19th.—Dean Stanley died last night. I deeply regret him. He was kind, friendly, genial, affectionate. He was full of love and

interest for the poor, and rejoiced in every thought and act of generosity. His abilities and acquirements were brilliant. I trembled at the contemplation of his theology; but I loved the man. Another who showed me attachment, and who always did me more than justice, is now gone!

July 27th.—To *Shaftesbury* training-ship, under the Metropolitan School Board. Distributed the prizes. The ship is a success—a great success. The hymns and songs had much of religion in them; and what I ventured to say in my 'few words' was well received.

In the late summer, while staying at Castle Wemyss, Lord Shaftesbury heard of the death of General Garfield. "Excepting Palmerston," he says, "I have never so felt the death of any public man." His first impulse was to write and express his heartfelt sympathy with the widow. Later he wrote, "Were it not presumptuous I would telegraph to her and say what I feel." Finally, he sent the following letter to the American Minister:—

Lord Shaftesbury to the Hon. Russell Lowell.

CASTLE WEMYSS, WEMYSS BAY, N.B., *Sept. 26th*, 1881.

SIR,—I cannot refrain from taking the liberty to address you on the subject of General Garfield.

I deeply longed to send a telegram of respect, I might almost say of affection, to his admirable widow, but I feared, and indeed felt, that it would be presumptuous.

I desire simply to express (you will, I doubt not, pardon it) my profound sorrow for the loss of that noble-minded and able-hearted man.

It is a loss to all the human race, not only to America and to the British Empire.

It is a sad thing that, in our fallen state, such men are meteoric; they are bright, glorious, astounding; but they appear and disappear rapidly.

All my life long I have wished and prayed for peace and friendship with the United States.

All seemed to be concentrated in this man of singular gifts. God grant that some one may be raised up in his stead. '*Liberavi animam meam.*'

Any other mode than the one I have adopted—that of privately speaking to you my heartfelt sentiments—would have been impertinent and egotistical; perhaps you will say that, even thus, I have gone too far.

Your obedient servant,

SHAFTESBURY.

The Hon. Russell Lowell to Lord Shaftesbury.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, LONDON, 3*rd Oct.*, 1881.

MY LORD,—I beg you to accept my most sincere thanks for your in every way excellent letter. Coming from anybody such an expression of sympathy would be welcome, but from you, who by a long life of good works have added lustre to a name already famous, it will be doubly precious.

I shall have great pleasure in forwarding your letter to Mrs. Garfield, who, I am sure, will set great store by it.

I remain, your obedient servant,

J. R. LOWELL.

Although, for some years, Lord Shaftesbury had not, for reasons already explained, taken any very active part in matters relating to the suppression of the Opium Trade, the subject had by no means been lost sight of. Mr. Henry Richard, M.P., General Alexander, Mr. Edward Pease, and others, had taken up the question warmly, and the Aborigines Protection Society had succeeded in bringing important evidence before a Select Committee of the House of Commons. In 1874

a Committee was formed, which developed into the Anglo-Oriental Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, and in 1880 Lord Shaftesbury became its president. Both in and out of Parliament, he used every endeavour to influence public opinion on the question, and to this end he spoke at a great meeting at the Mansion House on the 21st of October, 1881, under the presidency of the Lord Mayor. In seconding a resolution, proposed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, condemning the opium trade as "opposed to Christian and international morality, and to the commercial interests of this country," and declaring it to be the duty of the Government "to withdraw all encouragement to the growth of the poppy in India, except for strictly medicinal purposes," Lord Shaftesbury alluded to the fact that he had had the honour of moving the question forty years before in the House of Commons, when "scarcely any one supported him, and he was looked upon in some measure as a fanatic, and certainly as a fool." Since that time the traffic had gone on from bad to worse, until it had "become a question affecting the welfare and stability of the British Empire."

But, nevertheless, we have gained somewhat, and this meeting to-day proves what we have gained. We have gained very considerably in public opinion. We have gained this—that the consciences of many are touched—that many avow it, and many more secretly feel it. We have gained this—that all admit, for they cannot contradict you—the physical mischiefs to our own fellow-subjects and to the inhabitants of the kingdom of China. All admit the political mischiefs, involving us in wars and exposing us day by day to all

sorts of evil complications. You will find that Chambers of Commerce will tell you that all admit that, financially, it is a most important question. The finances of India are altogether insecure so long as they rest upon such a basis as this, and I think that there is scarcely a single man who believes one word of Revelation who will not agree with all of us in saying that, in its religious aspect, it is altogether and unequivocally abominable.

In a forcible speech Lord Shaftesbury set forth the main features of the iniquitous trade, but it was lamentable that, in 1881, he had to use the same arguments he had brought forward in 1843. He did not live to see the evil abated; but to the end of his life he did not cease to declare that it was "the duty of all religious societies, and the duty of every missionary society, the duty of every man who cares for the faith of Christianity, and the duty of every one who cares for the honour of his country, to combine in protesting, in memorialising, in giving no rest to the authorities of this country, until such time as they shall have wiped out this foul reproach from the forehead of the British Empire."

In October, Mr. Orsman wrote to Lord Shaftesbury to ask him to preside at the Opening of the Costers' Hall, in connection with the Golden Lane Mission. To this he replied :—

October 17th, 1881.

DEAR ORSMAN,—Three cheers, and one cheer more, for the Costers! My best love to them at your next meeting. I cannot fix a day just now. I must learn on what days there will be Board meetings of my Commission. Pray write to me again.

Yours truly,

S.

In the closing entries in the Diary for the year, the following passages occur:—

Nov. 28th.—St. Giles's. Wonderfully well this morning, God be praised—a providence—as I am going on a journey to London for three days and nights of work for Costers and Ragged Schools. Grant, O Lord, that I may accomplish my work and return in peace!

Nov. 30th.—K. Edward's Ragged School on Monday was a blessed sight. Our Lord is manifestly with them. And so was, last night, the Costers' Hall. They met me with flags and a fine band of music about a mile from the Hall; the inhabitants, many of them, joined the procession; and we went, perhaps 20,000 people, 'in state' to the meeting. Speeches of course, but no doubt the speeches of an old man; yet they were such as God enabled me to deliver for His service. I am not exempt from the natural and necessary decline in power which attends old age.

On the following day, Lord Shaftesbury's health rendered it necessary that he should consult Sir William Gull, who peremptorily forbade him to attend a meeting for distribution of prizes at Stoke Newington. A telegram to his friend Mr. H. R. Williams was sent accordingly, and an exaggerated report as to the state of his health created great alarm among his friends.

Dec. 3rd.—Very kind inquiries by Edwin Arnold, Editor of *Daily Telegraph*, and a most kind article in his paper.

Dec. 5th.—That grand old Hebrew Patriarch, Moses Montefiore, aged ninety-eight, sent his card, with earnest inquiries after my health. He is worthy of the best days of the Jewish polity; a noble and fit representative, also, of that illustrious Patriarch, Judas Maccabeus.

Dec. 26th.—Catherine Marsh is ill. Let every one who cares for Christ's kingdom over the hearts of the human race pray that she may be restored, and speedily, to her career and power of love and service! She has comforted the souls of many in the name of our Saviour and Redeemer.

Wide as were Lord Shaftesbury's sympathies with the many efforts made for the spread of the Gospel, and active as were his labours to promote the circulation of the Truth among the poor and neglected, he never would, or could, countenance any movement dealing with the awful verities of religion, unless such movement were founded on a sense of the solemnity due to sacred things. Religion in an irreligious spirit was hateful to him; there must be, as the Alpha and Omega of every endeavour, a spirit of reverence. Wherever the eternal truths of Revelation were to be proclaimed; wherever the minds of men were to be turned to thoughts of God, the first essential, in his mind, was that "reverence and godly fear" should have their proper place. It did not matter where the place of assembly might be—whether the barn or the cottage, the theatre or the open air—the injunction, "Take off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground," was a binding obligation. An awe unspeakable must rest upon the souls of men who would be "co-workers with God," or that work was unintelligible.

In the autumn of 1881, Lord Shaftesbury received a long letter from Admiral Fishbourne, inviting him to join the so-called "Salvation Army," and to give to that movement his countenance and support. Without a moment's hesitation he stoutly refused, and, as unhesitatingly, gave his reasons for doing so. This involved him in a long paper controversy with Admiral Fishbourne and Mr. (or "General") and Mrs. Booth, some portions of which we will presently quote. The

correspondence was not published, although Lord Shaftesbury was anxious that it should have been, and the matter was allowed to drop. In the summer of 1882, however, the following passage occurs in the Diary:—

June 25th.—Sunday. For the first time publicly broke out against the "Army" of Mr. Booth.* Could not resist it, hearing the eulogy of it pronounced by a clergyman, and a good clergyman, too, of the Church of England, the Rev. Burnam Cassin. In the *Times* of yesterday, the Archbishop of Canterbury appears as a patron of Mr. and Mrs. Booth, and as a donor of five pounds to their funds.

These, then, are our pastors, who are to feed us 'in green pastures, and lead us beside still waters.'

In the speech referred to above, Lord Shaftesbury, in expressing his surprise that so many were found to encourage Mr. Booth and his "myrmidons," protested against the haughty title, "The Salvation Army," and that the only plea urged in their behoof was that they were in earnest.

'In earnest!' he exclaimed, 'was not Mr. Bradlaugh in earnest? Were not the Nihilists and the Fenians in earnest? Was not the Devil himself in earnest? And, if they supported all that was in earnest, to what extremes would they not be driven? The excesses of the 'Army' were producing great irreverence of thought, of expression, of action, turning religion into a play, and making it grotesque and familiar.

Now, if religion was made easy and jocular, hundreds would join it, and swell the number of conversions, but that was not the way to carry on the work of the Gospel. There was no need of gymnastics to enforce Christianity. It must be preached with simplicity and fervour to reach the hearts of the people, and if they departed from that, they would see a decline of all religion in the country, and the excesses of one body, like the 'Army' under the orders of 'General'

* At a meeting on behalf of Special Religious Services in Theatres, held at Blackheath.

and Mrs. Booth, would terminate in the distrust and annihilation of all the humble and holy missions now so rife, and so fruitful in the instruction and comfort of the masses of the people.

Lord Shaftesbury felt it to be a duty to speak out thus, and he never shrank from duty; it was a grief to him, however, to do so, for it brought him into opposition with friends whose opinions, on most points, he honoured, and whose religious zeal, in many respects, he admired. Nevertheless, he had his reward, for he had expressed what large numbers were waiting to hear expressed, and many letters of gratitude for what he had said were sent to him.

The following extracts from Lord Shaftesbury's letters to Admiral Fishbourne fully set forth his views on the "Salvation Army."

Lord Shaftesbury to Admiral Fishbourne.

ST. GILES'S HOUSE, *Nov. 7th*, 1881.

DEAR ADMIRAL FISHBOURNE,— . . . . I was requested, nearly a year ago, to give what support I could to the Salvation Army. I have not, at hand, the letter I wrote in reply, so I cannot send you a copy, but I retain all the feelings I then expressed—feelings of deep and sincere objection.

It is not that I have any repugnance to novel and abnormal modes of proceeding. My whole life has been spent in breaking down barriers and prejudices; and, in efforts to reach, religiously, the vast masses of the people, I have, for years, disregarded every mere form of external Church government and have laboured to bring into action all the hearts and minds of the high and low, rich and poor, among the laity, for ardent and vigorous ministerial services.

But I endeavoured, and I hope that I have succeeded, to keep within the limits of the New Testament and primitive Christianity.

When, however, I look at the constitution, framework, and organisation of the Salvation Army, its military arrangements, its Hallelujah Lasses, its banners, their mottoes, and a thousand other original accompaniments, I ask what authority we have, in Scripture, for such a system and such a discipline! Can any man conscientiously believe, after due reflection, that things like these would have been formerly, or that they can be now, in accordance with the mind of our Lord and His apostles? Have we any trace that afterwards, when abuses crept in, the primitive Christians resorted to such sensational practices, even in secret? There is none whatever.

The earliest authority for the Salvation Army is Mr. Booth himself; and it dates from only a year or so ago.

But matters do not improve when we pass from the organisation to the language and conduct of the members of the body. I have before me, at this moment, a long list of doings which (so far from being 'decent and in order') are in action as extravagant, and in expression as offensive, as any that ever disgraced the wildest fanaticism. I will not give any details, because you and Mr. Booth must, frequently, have heard the various charges.

Now you may, perhaps, reply that, while Mr. Booth regrets these things, he cannot control them. To that I must rejoin that, in such a case, he is bound to surrender his post, and separate himself from adherents whose excesses and violence he is unable to restrain.

I cannot but regret the sad and perilous step Mr. Booth has taken, because it has greatly abated the benefit that might have been derived from a religious movement, headed and expanded by Mrs. Booth. That lady, with profound earnestness and great intellectual gifts, has also vast powers of persuasion, which might have operated, not only on the classes already addressed, but on many who are now, both from feeling and principle, very antagonistic to the name and achievements of the Army.

You will tell me, no doubt, that the work has prospered, and that happy results have ensued.

Assuming, though by no means admitting, that you are right, I cannot accept the argument. I must consider, and weigh solemnly, the mode, manner, and character of the proceedings whereby you seek to reach your object. If they are founded on Scripture, I will go along with you; if they are not so, I must do just the reverse. I

cannot consent 'to do evil that good may come.' It is a rule, I know, much bepraised, often quoted, and perpetually violated; but, in matters of this kind, it is too serious to be trifled with.

You have sent me a paper containing articles of approval from various newspapers. Strange to say, they have given me more distrust of the movement than I had before. They rejoice, and fairly enough, in the Army's exercise of religious liberty; but there is perceptible, also, a certain satisfaction in the proof, as they think, to their minds, that religion to be effective must be more or less fanatical.

I cannot refrain from calling your attention to a passage in a pastoral charge by that wise and blessed man, the late Bishop McIlvaine. You will find it in page 82 of his life by Canon Carus.

What says the Bishop? 'Remember that the time of revival, however genuine the work, is especially the time for watchfulness . . . beware of all efforts to kindle excitement. Be animated, be diligent, be filled with the spirit of prayer, but be sober-minded. Let all noise, and all endeavours to promote mere animal feeling, be shunned. You can no more advance the growth of religion in the soul by excitement than you can promote health in the body by throwing it into fever.'

These are the sentiments of a profound and pious man, who, as an American clergyman, had seen the rise and fall of many revivals.

Now, without reference to the particular objections to the methods adopted by Mr. Booth, the system itself cannot be justified by the plea of necessity for the introduction of anything new, special, and distinctive in the mode of addressing the people. We have, at least, one hundred lay missions in London; and there are many elsewhere—I wish that they were tenfold in number—which conduct their operations with abundant zeal, and yet with modesty and sobriety. Not a few consist of working-people, who become missionaries to their own class—just as it should be—and no one, who is at all acquainted with the moral state of our large cities, can hesitate to affirm that these energetic, but unpretending, efforts have been singularly blessed in the diffusion of revealed truth. . . .

It is the multiplication of such agencies as these, and their wider extension, that we now stand in need of; and, while I acknowledge the good intentions of Mr. Booth, and agree with him that special efforts must be made, I cannot applaud his judgment, nor can I, in

any way, share with him the responsibility of maintaining and extending the movement called the Salvation Army.

Yours very truly,

SHAFTESBURY.

Lord Shaftesbury to Admiral Fishbourne.

ST. GILES'S HOUSE, *Nov. 22nd*, 1881.

DEAR ADMIRAL FISHBOURNE,—Allow me to thank you for your reply to my letter.

It does not, however, meet the grounds of my objections. You merely repeat that great good has been done by the Salvation Army; but you do not adduce an argument to remove my repugnance to the mode and character of your proceedings, which I venture to regard as being wholly unwarranted by Scripture.

I cannot enter into a controversy with you about the doctrine you inculcate, on its peculiar acceptability with the masses, and its wide distinction from general evangelical preaching. Seriously as I question some of the views you have stated in your letter, I will not attempt to controvert them. They were not the point at issue in my first reply, nor shall they be so now. I will only remark that your comparison of the members of the Salvation Army, 'with the disciples at the day of Pentecost,' is alike original and untrue. The Salvation Army you say 'is doubtless noisy and irregular' (an important admission), 'and this,' you add, 'was the condition of Pentecost, as they were charged with being drunk with new wine.'

Whenever you and Mr. Booth can give to the charge against his followers as stout and clear a reply as St. Peter gave on that eventful day, I will lay aside all my objections, and join your ranks with the utmost cordiality.

But Mrs. Booth takes a very bold line, and broadly maintains, as I read in her letter to you, and which you have enclosed to me, 'that, in bringing the Gospel to bear on men, there is no law laid down in the Scriptures, except the law of adaptation.' Nay, but there is a law, I reply, and that law is, 'Let all things be done decently and in order.'

The texts she adduces are nothing to the point—they touch in no way the discipline, the apparatus, the military titles, the regimental action of young women, towards which such repugnance is felt. And, as for the remainder of the illustrations drawn from the Old Testament, I must first say that to put the inventions of man on the same footing with the directions of the Almighty Himself, shows an audacity which makes me tremble; and the more so when the whole is summed up with a passage unprecedented, I think, in the writings of any believer: 'We have never,' so states Mrs. Booth, 'done anything half as outrageous and extravagant as God set His prophets to do at that time.'

Was there ever such language applied before to the commands of God? Does not the tendency of the movement break out in all this unhallowed freedom of speech and action? But let Mrs Booth remember that when she handles, after this fashion, the mysterious injunctions of the Almighty, she endorses the language of every infidel who has presumed to measure, by his own weak and corrupt judgment, the inscrutable decrees of Heavenly Wisdom.

As for her further observations, that St. Paul was 'always in a row,' and that an 'aggressive Christianity must, of necessity, be a rowdy Christianity,' I deeply regret that a lady of her intelligence and piety should have allowed herself to indulge in such childish and irreverent expressions, which show, I must be excused for saying it, as much unacquaintance with human nature as with the Bible itself.

Mrs. Booth asserts, and conscientiously believes, that the whole is marked by 'the finger of God.' I will not presume to give to that good and sincere lady a flat contradiction.

If Mrs. Booth, when citing the examples of Ezekiel and Jeremiah, claims to be like those prophets, and to act under the dictates of Inspiration, I cannot of course continue to argue with her, and I must stop, and so must every one, to ask convincing proofs of that asserted Inspiration.

But if she does not assert the enjoyment of such an influence, she must call to mind that Jeremiah and Ezekiel did so; and so did every servant of God throughout the Old Testament, when ordered to perform some striking and abnormal work. For men to proceed on any other basis, and to assume that everything in the Old Testament is a precedent to be followed, at will, by each one

according to his own judgment or impulse, would throw all religious and social life into utter confusion. The Anabaptists of Munster and Leyden, and all the enormities of the wildest fanaticism, would be revived and, as it were, justified by such a principle.

Mrs. Booth's plain and unhesitating assertion, that such stimulating appliances are necessary to render the Gospel acceptable to the masses, is simply to declare that the Gospel, in itself, is weak and spiritless, unless presented to them with the grotesque and heathenish accompaniments of man's invention—an assertion in direct contravention of Scripture itself, and refuted, moreover, by the results of the numerous Lay Missions that so providentially and happily are moving, day and night, with silent, though sure, effect, in London and all our great cities.

Strong and deep as my impressions are, I am prepared to wait for further and unmistakable proof, obeying, meanwhile, with all my heart, the exhortation of Gamaliel, 'If this counsel or this work be of man it will come to nought; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it, lest, haply, ye be found to fight even against God.'

Yours very truly,

SHAFTESBURY.

The views expressed in the foregoing letters, Lord Shaftesbury never saw occasion to abandon or modify. In conversation with the writer in 1885 he said, "I have no sympathy with that movement in the remotest degree; not so much as I have with that other extreme, Ritualism. Extremes meet, and I am disposed to think that, eventually, there will be an open alliance between the Ritualists and the Salvation Army. Both delight in show, both are dependent upon their leaders, both are busy with externals. Take away Mr. Booth and the movement collapses; take away the priests and Ritualism falls. The only strong point of the Salvation Army is the Temperance movement allied to it; not in its travesty of religion."

The number and variety of subjects that Lord Shaftesbury undertook in 1882, the firmness of his grasp, and the energy with which he dealt with them, was "as a marvel unto many." Thus his old friend Dean Law, writing to his still older friend Mr. Haldane, said: "January 28th, 1882. Yesterday I was honoured and gladdened by a visit from our beloved Earl. To my extreme delight he appeared as if no interval of time had done weakening work since last we met. The figure was erect, the gait vigorous, and the mind as powerful as in former times. He conversed on all the matters which now engross attention with a power of conception and expression quite unimpaired by his many years. Perhaps his view of matters might betray a little too much of his characteristic gloom in foreboding. But his fears were all brightened by the richness of heavenly hope. As a statesman, as a patriot, as a philanthropist, as a Christian, he still appeared as ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν, wearing an unrivalled crown."

Old age did not diminish Lord Shaftesbury's ability to write a good letter. To the members of his family, and to old friends, he sent from time to time long and chatty epistles, of which the following to his second daughter may serve as a fair specimen:—

Lord Shaftesbury to Lady Edith Ashley.

24, Grosvenor Square, W.
June 13th, 1882.

Dearest Hilda,—Several letters are due to you in answer to your correspondence, which for abundance and punctuality is the wonder of every one.

Our weather is rainy and piercingly cold. We have fires not only in the evening but during the day. Noses are blue, hands are chilly, and teeth chatter. I fear for the hay and for 'the day in the country' to so many poor children who get such a thing once only in twelve months.

We make a selection so far as we can of 'private' from 'public' letters addressed to you. There is a bundle, equal to half the Great Pyramid, doubtless, of acceptances and refusals of our drawing-room meetings. I must apologise for your absence and the non-appearance of Hamlet himself in the great representation.

The Barley-water goes in state to the consumptives, with such other additions as are good for the people there. Nothing is forgotten; your legacy of duty is accepted and observed. . . . .

The cob had two teeth drawn by the veterinary surgeon from Christchurch, and she is all the better for it. Strange to say, she made no resistance and exhibited no displeasure. Surely these animals have reason.

I am not overworking myself or anybody else. I am doing a little; and that little is not of much use. Every day brings a scene, like mounting the Righi—at each ten minutes you fancy you have reached the highest point, and when you have reached the highest point to which you can ascend, why, you see a hundred points inaccessibly above you. So it is, and so it will be to the end of the world. The completion of things is reserved for our blessed Lord. Every living soul should pray, not daily, but hourly, in the closing words of Scripture, 'Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly.' . . . .

That grotesque set of worshippers styling themselves, blasphemously, the Salvation Army, is becoming more wild than ever. . . . It will fall to the earth, but it will leave a deep stamp on society of irreverence in thought, expression, and action, in all matters of religion. . . . .

Love to dear Sissey,* with many prayers for her recovery and restoration to British life in England itself. We want her much, very much, both in Cadogan Place and at St. Giles's. But all things are awfully mysterious in this world and in the moral government of it. The only comfort is in Faith; and in the

* The Hon. Mrs. Evelyn Ashley.

assurance that, in the adherence to the Faith, the final issue must be happy.

May God in His mercy protect you all.

Yours most affectionately,

S.

A case may be cited here to illustrate Lord Shaftesbury's power of dealing with a question at this advanced period of his life. Early in 1882, intelligence was received in this country of cruel persecutions of the Jews in Russia. Strong articles appeared in the newspapers on the subject, but no action was taken, until a body of Hebrews in London addressed a letter to Lord Shaftesbury, urging him to intercede on behalf of their suffering brethren, and wondering that "no Christian had come forward to assert the principle and practice of true Christianity." The appeal was irresistible; instantly he wrote a vigorous letter to the *Times*, and "sent it" (from St. Giles's) "by special hand to avoid delay." His letter was at once responded to, and a meeting called forthwith at the Mansion House to take action in the matter. It followed naturally that Lord Shaftesbury, having taken the initiative, should move the first resolution.

Jan. 30th.—Hence falls on me the weight, the duty, the responsibility of stating the case and giving the tone to the audience. It is full of difficulty and danger; for if I say very little I should 'show cause;' if I state a great deal, I may go too far. My memory, my judgment, my courage, may, all of them, fail, and not only I, but the question itself, may suffer.

Jan. 31st.—Well or ill, sad or rejoicing, must start for London to attend, God willing, the meeting to-morrow. Never did I go

anywhere with a heavier heart. Mr. Serjeant Simon can get no speakers, certainly none of weight, to support the Jewish cause on the cause of justice and humanity. Possibly there will be scarcely an audience.

It turned out to be "a grand meeting, full, hearty, and enthusiastic," and although "suffering much from moral and physical depression," Lord Shaftesbury got through his task.

Feb. 2nd.—Ah, Lord, prosper it all to the honour of Thine ancient people; but specially to the honour of Thy dear Son Jesus Christ, whose professing followers have come forward to pray and fight for those who crucified Him! And did He not teach us to do this in His own words upon the Cross, 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do'?

Lord Shaftesbury was not content to allow the matter to rest here. On the 9th of February the question was discussed in the House of Lords, in which, it is needless to say, he took a principal part. "We had," he says in a note to Mr. Haldane, "a very short, but very satisfactory, flare up on the Jews in the House of Lords. The Hebrews were in ecstasies." At many other meetings he brought the matter forward in the month of May, nor did he "cease from his intercession till the plague was stayed."

The "scenes" in the House of Commons, consequent upon the refusal to allow Mr. Bradlaugh, one of the Members for Northampton, to take his seat, were important features of the session. In 1882, the controversy on the question of the Oath was still in progress, when Lord Redesdale, in the House of Lords, made a proposal to add "stringency to the Oath of

Allegiance by adding to it a categorical statement of belief in the Deity." Lord Shaftesbury "moved the previous question," was successful in checking the Bill, and "rescued the peers from a position of no little embarrassment."

A characteristic passage in the Diary refers to the attendance of the bishops on the discussion of this important question :—

April 8th.—Last year, when movement was made in Lords for Opening of Museums only eight bishops were present. This year, when Redesdale's Bill was propounded—to which they all objected—only two. Of what use are they there on truly serious matters?

The study of the sacred Scriptures was always a delight to Lord Shaftesbury, and never more so than in these last years of his life. A Bible was always at hand in his library, and nothing more remarkably exemplified the retention of his faculties than the manner in which, whenever a reference to the Scriptures was necessary, he could, in a moment, turn to chapter and verse. On one occasion, when speaking to the writer about the Revised Version of the New Testament, and the rumours as to alterations in the text of the Revised Version of the Old Testament, in the course of a few minutes he turned to from fifteen to twenty passages as if by magic; it seemed as if he had every syllable of the inspired volume at his fingers' ends.

There are many references in the Diary to his Biblical studies at this period, a few of which we quote :—

April 1st.—Good Friday. Let our first thought be that of St. Paul: 'I determined to know nothing but Jesus Christ and Him

crucified.' It is very remarkable; he says not '*no one*,' but '*no thing*.' He excludes thus every possible adjunct of man's hope or invention; every shadow of good deeds and self-righteousness; every notion, however small, of something besides Christ.

Aug. 27th.—Sunday. Reading 'Romans.' There are certain passages in that wonderful and glorious epistle which will divide, in translation and interpretation, critics and commentators to the end of time. Be it so; however desirable to know the exact meaning of every word and every expression, such a minute acquaintance with his writings is not necessary to salvation, or even to a clear, bright, and full understanding of his Divinely-inspired letter. If there are half a dozen passages obscure, there are thousands as brilliant as day; and let us rest satisfied, as St. Peter was satisfied, though there are some things 'hard to be understood.'

August 31st.—Day opens beautifully; rose at half-past five, with every promise of comfort for the day. Psalms and Proverbs. How deeply evangelical is that Book of Proverbs! How plainly one may see and feel Christ speaking under the Old as under the New Testament!

In the following extracts from the Diary, Lord Shaftesbury describes some of the events in which he was most interested during the year:—

May 7th, 1882.—News arrived—heard it as going to early sacrament—of assassination of Fred. Cavendish in Dublin within a few hours of his reaching it. The crime is shocking and cruel beyond all power of expression. He had never said a word, or done a deed, in reference to Ireland; he had gone, moreover, 'ostensibly' on a mission of concession. Is not Hell let loose in that country? What ought we not to feel for his father, his brother, but specially his widow! Gracious God, have compassion on them! Any one who knew the wife must admire and love her. He was gentle, true, pious, and singularly attractive. Their mutual attachment to each other was, I am told, very touching and very deep. Here is a trial of faith. Why one so good, so affectionate, so zealous for her Lord and Master, Jesus Christ, should be thus afflicted!

June 14th.—Last night to Anniversary of One Tun Ragged

School. The spectacle is deeply touching; the mass of little things go there from the recesses of vice, misery, and filth, physically and morally cleansed, in order, discipline, true knowledge (the knowledge of Christ), and joy—joy so long as their childhood lasts. It makes me reflect and feel and bless God for a pause, if no more, in the activity of human suffering and degradation. What will befall it if the income fails—it has often been that issue—or when Mrs. Barker Harrison, that inestimable woman, be taken to Heaven? Let us pray that He will raise up a due succession of such agents for His own glory and the comfort of these poor children.

June 29th.—Accomplished almost a prodigy in the business of the day. Early to Greenhithe for *Chichester* and *Arethusa;* returned in haste for meeting of Cairns, Beauchamp, Coleridge, and others, in Grosvenor Square, to decide how best to oppose, in next Session, Deceased Wife's Sister Bill. Then to public dinner in honour of Sir Ashley Eden, my godson; and afterwards, in a hurry, in obedience to Her Majesty's commands, to a concert at Buckingham Palace! Swift says of a poor curate—

> 'All this was done by Thomas Hewett;
> What other mortal could go through it?'

July 6th.—Much rain yesterday; some fine intervals; but my poor little children of the One Tun Ragged School must have been sadly disappointed; they could not roll on the wet grass. Poor little things; no doubt they bore it well—better than we higher folks should have done.

July 30th.—Yesterday to Margate, to preside at Dedication (for such it is) of George Williams' House of Health and Repose for Young Men, a Bethesda, a House of Mercy. . . . He is a dear, noble, and generous man; and in the whole range of all whom I know, whether relatives or friends, the only one from whom I could with comfort, or even with hope, request a great kindness.

Dec. 26th.—Returned to Saint on 22nd. Christmas Day, very damp and gloomy. Nevertheless, a day of rejoicing; first, because Christmas Day; secondly, because for first time during many years, and probably for the last time, nearly all the family were assembled together. I had around me at the Lord's Table, and at home, Evelyn, Lionel, Cecil, Vea, Hilda; Antony absent, but represented

by Margaret; dear Sissey away at Davos. In the house, Wilfrid, little Hilda, and Maria, William's widow; Pinkie, as almost one of the family, and Augusta Chichester.

Death was busy among the friends of Lord Shaftesbury in this year and those that followed. Dean Law, the Dean of Gloucester, of whom he always spoke as "The Good Dean," was "gathered like a shock of splendid corn in full season into the Heavenly Garner, there to remain among God's precious stores for ever and ever." His "dear old friend, Harrowby, a good man both towards God and towards His house," was another to "drop from his morning and evening prayers." Of Dr. Pusey, who closed his long life in this year (1882), he writes:—

Sept. 23rd.—My friend, Pusey, dead and buried. Intensely and fearfully as I differed from him in many points of unspeakable importance, I could not but love the man. Had known him for sixty years! Was at college with him. We read Aristotle to each other; but while I formed a correct opinion of his diligence, I had not formed, at that time, a correct one of his powers. He has had a prodigious effect on his generation. I greatly admired his talents, fully acknowledged and wondered at his immense learning, and reverenced his profound piety. His work on Daniel exhibits all the three; and surely he was called and supported by our Lord in that illustrious effort of wisdom, labour, and courage.

But the "great loss" of all was the removal by death of his old and valued friend, Mr. Haldane—the man on whom he had depended more than on any one else, with whom his intercourse had been almost unbroken for more than thirty years, and to whom he had opened his heart at all times and under all circumstances. The

friendship between them had been fostered by the strongest mutual attraction and sympathy on almost every point.

July 9th.—Called on Haldane yesterday. Saw him in bed, but only for two minutes; he is ill. I am in anxiety about him. His daughter, Mrs. Corsbie, pronounces him much improved; but attacks at eighty-one years of age are very alarming. God, in His mercy, raise him up from the couch of sickness and give him yet a few years of service! I, myself, should deeply feel his loss; he is the only one left to whom I can speak of many things.

July 18th.—Haldane is fearfully ill. God, in His mercy and goodness, spare him yet a little while!

Half-past twelve. Have been to see him; he was fast asleep, but surely the sentence of Death was on his face. He may yet recover, but it would be almost a miracle. It would be a real comfort to myself; but would it be so to him? God only knows. And when we pray, as in this case, we must remember that there are two parties to the question. We pray for ourselves, but we do not sufficiently consider that we may not be praying for the true welfare of the patient. Our blessed Lord is wise and good.

July 20th.—My old, long-proved, and trusty friend, Haldane, having been unconscious for two days, died yesterday morning at half-past six, evidently without suffering. Sat by his bedside for an hour, and, along with his son and daughters, joined in prayer. We cannot but have full assurance of his salvation. He believed intensely in the Lord Jesus, His power, His office, His work. He intensely loved Him, and ever talked with a holy relish and a full desire for the Second Advent. A long life, one less of personal activity than of religious intellectualism, was devoted to the advancement of Christ's Kingdom and to the temporal and eternal welfare of the human race. His sole hope was in the all-atoning blood of our blessed Saviour; any approach to a doctrine of works was his abhorrence, and once he quoted to me, with approval and favour, the saying of Dr. Doddridge, 'The very best thing that man ever did is worthy of condemnation.'

To me, it is for the remainder of my days, whatever that be, a complete blank. We have lived in friendship for five-and-thirty

years; and in intimacy for at least twenty! When in London scarcely a day passed that I did not see him; and when absent, I heard from him oftentimes in the week.

On the 24th of July, Lord Shaftesbury followed the remains of his beloved friend to their last resting-place in Willesden Cemetery. It was a wet and stormy day, and thunder was pealing heavily, but Lord Shaftesbury would remain uncovered, and almost impatiently resisted the efforts of Mr. Haldane's son to protect him from the weather, saying, in the bitterness of his grief, "it did not matter what happened to him now."

Sir William Herschel, who was one of the friends assembled at the grave, gives the following graphic picture of the scene in a letter to Mrs. Corsbie, the eldest daughter of Mr. Haldane: "I had never seen Lord Shaftesbury, but knowing his unremitting intercourse with your father, I was prepared to see strong traces of grief on a face which I knew showed habitual melancholy. But when I raised my eyes across the open grave, and for the first time saw the thin figure opposite me, I was startled by the picture of misery that met my sight. I could look at nothing but the living face of sorrow for the dead, the deep down-cut lines, the hair blowing about the bare broad head, and the eyes hard closed at times. The meaning of it, more than the features which conveyed the meaning, was what startled me so; to see such sharp pain for a personal loss in spite of such mature faith. I never saw anything like it in any human face. What a contrast to the genial smile of which he was thinking!"

Had not Lord Shaftesbury left such copious Diaries, his letters to Mr. Haldane would have been invaluable, as, from them, a biography of thirty years of his life could, in some measure, have been constructed. As it is, those letters have only been occasionally quoted when they supplied information not to be found in the Diaries.

Although dealing principally with current topics of the day, they contain, scattered throughout the series, many gems of thought and expression, a few of which, without reference to the occasions that called them forth, may be given here. They are selected to show, in Lord Shaftesbury's correspondence, his versatility of style, his flashes of humour, his sympathies and antipathies, and his Christian philosophy.

I know what constituted an Evangelical in former times; I have no clear notion what constitutes one now.

I want to pin every discussion down to the one thing needful—the one perfect and sufficient Sacrifice.

The verifying faculty is simply a clumsy makeshift to get rid of the Holy Spirit.

Scientific despotism exceeds sacerdotal tyranny.

When Gladstone runs down a steep place, his immense majority, like the pigs in Scripture, but hoping for a better issue, will go with him, roaring in grunts of exultation.

The story of the effort as a sturdy beggar was this. Rambling in the lowest parts of Westminster, I found a Ragged School, held

in a deserted stable, cold, ruinous, and stinking. I went back to the House of Commons, stood at the entrance into the House, and asked of every one whom I thought well disposed to the cause to give me a sovereign. Having got £28, I went back and ordered the place to be put into repair. I was very proud of the act then, and I am proud of it now.

D'Israeli is a Hebrew, and that to my mind always imparts a certain sense of reverence. I can never forget that of this race our blessed Lord came according to the flesh. . . . D'Izzy's ambition to be the first Hebrew Peer is quite consistent with his pride—just pride—in the pedigree in Nehemiah. His desire has been to show that the Jews are becoming the dominant race, and that they can, by force of character, command, however inferior they may think them, everything in the possession of the Gentiles.

The next extract refers to the Life of Lord Macaulay:—

There are omissions, made evidently by the editor, not many nor long. But I am strongly inclined to believe that, were those omissions supplied, we should have important insight into his real religious feelings and character. But if it be true—and the Lord says so—that 'out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh'—how could he in those graceful, tender, touching, and delightful letters to his sisters, have withstood the almost irresistible tendency—almost, do I say?—of a loving and religious soul, to pour its blessings upon others?

Ritualism is the Colorado beetle of ecclesiasticism—you cannot keep it out.

Fine writing is the pest of all true theology. People will be brilliant, startling, original; and, in that spirit, they sacrifice everything to a 'pregnant expression.'

God will work out His own purpose according to His own wisdom. God will not prevent my being called a fool, but He will prevent my being one.

I would rather deny Revelation than . . . eliminate Christ.

Retrospect must be fearful to every reflecting soul. All time past is filled with negligences, lost or spoiled opportunities, shortcomings, and abundant sins. Retrospects ought to bring nothing but confession and repentance; and then the prospect—the only thing to be cared for—will be peace and joy.

Doctrine is everywhere set aside. It is like silver in the days of Solomon, it is 'nothing accounted of.'

Inspiration is no more to be understood than the secret of life. It exists, and let believers be satisfied; and, certainly, one thing is true that, if Inspiration does not exist and prevail, the Bible is not worth a straw. . . . Newman's words speak the truth of our Version: It is 'interwoven with the moral composition of our people.'

Education may be, instead of a great blessing, a great curse. We are training boys and girls too rapidly. We have a thousand candidates for one place. The 999 live, then, by their wits, and the wits are turned to fraud and sensationalism. This is not an argument against education, but a warning. 'Make it healthy and safe.'

Politics are fearful. Gladstone is claiming the leadership of the Revolution in every form. Gladstone's declaration, that the dissolution of the Irish Church was determined on *by himself as Prime Minister*, in consequence of the Fenian movement and the explosion at Clerkenwell, is a clear, bold, and stirring appeal to the Irish. 'Ravage the country with fire and sword, and you will carry Home Rule, Abolition of Rent, and every desire of your hearts.'

Practically, and in the sight of God, there is no real difference between *denying and ignoring Him.*

I was reading, this morning, Mark xii. 1—8. Surely our Lord must have been foretelling an Irish estate! We are far nearer to the end of the British Empire than we thought six months ago.

Three years (or six?) hence will see, after Household Suffrage in the Counties, and Redistribution of Seats, the coarsest, vulgarest House of Commons that England can produce. I consider the extinction of the House of Lords in fact, if not in terms, a foregone conclusion now. The thing was settled in the short conflict on the Registration Bill. We then learned publicly, what privately every thinking man has long known, that we are living 'on sufferance.' And what kind of sufferance? Why, that of the boa constrictor in the Zoological Gardens, who has his rabbit in the cage, but is not quite ready for it.

I see that the revision of the Scriptures is to impoverish our language. We ought, instead of driving out words by the substitution of modern ones, to force the older ones into more common use. We shall lose the pure Saxon for terms drawn from the French or lower Latin. Pray remember Hudibras, describing the innovations of his day—

> 'Twas English, cut on Greek or Latin
> Like fustian, heretofore on satin.'

All is in keeping. These fellows are enfeebling our doctrine; and it is quite in harmony to enfeeble the language in which it is expressed.

The ——— had a notice which was amusing beyond most farces! Fearful of allowing me the possession of *understanding*, the Editor spoke of nothing, in three several passages, but my 'instincts,' as though I were a St. Bernard's dog or a tabby cat.

If, for political and public purposes, there can be in the Bible one book more valuable than another, to throw light on the days in which we live, it is Jeremiah. He was not always 'looking to the sun,' but he was looking to the earth, entreating, preaching, warning, threatening, promising; and he was, in consequence, regarded as a bore, a blockhead, and a blunderer. Yet if he had been attended to, Jerusalem might have survived for many centuries; and certainly she would have been spared the indescribable sufferings of soul and body that followed her destruction by Nebuchadnezzar.

To the question, 'What have the Evangelicals to fear?' I reply, 'Themselves.'

Jan. 2nd, 1882.—'I will never leave thee nor forsake thee.' Let me return you, and 'with usury,' all your kind expressions and prayers for my temporal and eternal welfare.

That text is a marvellous text (Deut. xxxi. 6), and has long been a banner to me in the house of my pilgrimage.

Observe the frequent repetition of it. We read it first in Deuteronomy (xxxi. 6), just before Moses departed this life. Then it appears in Joshua (i. 5), just as he begins his independent career. David, dying (1 Chronicles xxviii. 20), passes it on to his son Solomon; and St. Paul winds it up, as a κτῆμα εἰς τον αἰῶνα, a possession for ever, to every generation of mankind.

No text is so frequently repeated in Scripture; and it has, moreover, a singular significance. Moses, the type of our Lord, utters it as he quits this earth. Our Lord says, almost as He was ascending to Heaven, 'Lo, I am with you alway—even to the end of the world.'

The words are marvellously akin.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

WORD AND WORK. 1874—1884.

Speeches—Church Pastoral Aid Society—Church Reform—Blue Books—State of the Pulpit—Burial of Nonconformists—John Wesley and Ignatius Loyola—Anecdotes of Contemporaries—Evening Communion—Schism—The Church not Apostate—British and Foreign Bible Society—That Book—Young Men's Christian Association—Stimulating and Inspiring Speeches—Baron of Hyde Park—Œcumenical Council—Temptation of Young Men—Amusements—A Coincidence—Gymnastic Exercises—Ambition—Religious Tract Society—Pernicious Juvenile Literature—Reminiscences of Labour—At George Yard—Two Portraits—Dan Liddle—Punch, the Casual—Tribute to a Woman's Influence—Letters to Children—Shoeblacks—Among the Poor.

BETWEEN the years 1874 and 1884, Lord Shaftesbury's attendance at public meetings knew no cessation. There was scarcely a social, political, or religious movement set on foot in which his co-operation was not solicited, and, if practicable, obtained. The effect was not in the least degree to diminish his affection for the old societies; on the contrary, his love for them, instead of waxing colder, increased as the years went on.

The mere physical strain in attending these ever-increasing meetings was very great. "This is the ninth hour I have been in the chair to-day," he said, at one of the meetings of the Ragged School Union.* "Moreover, having taken the chair for two-and-thirty

* May 12th, 1876.

years consecutively, and having made two-and-thirty speeches, I hardly know in what form to address you."

It is to be regretted that so many of Lord Shaftesbury's speeches were merely delivered and done with, and that they take no permanent place in the literature of the country. They are interesting, if regarded merely as the utterances of a man intensely in earnest, but they are interesting, also, on account of their literary value, and of the thorough and practical mastery of every subject discussed upon.

We propose to group together in this place a few selected passages from some of his speeches on behalf of the Societies with which he was most closely identified.

In the Church Pastoral Aid Society he took a profound interest. Year by year, since its formation in 1836, he made the anniversary meeting the occasion of a speech, in which he sought to give a survey of the state of the Church, the bearings of religious controversy, and the dangers that were threatening, in consequence of the growth of new doctrines and new ecclesiastical practices. Many of these speeches, it must be confessed, were gloomy in the extreme. "I know I am apt to croak," he said, on one occasion, "and I know I am regarded as one who takes a dark view of the future. But is there not a cause?" It will not be with those gloomy views that we shall concern ourselves in the following quotations: our object is rather to reproduce Lord Shaftesbury's style as a speaker, and his sentiments on various subjects.

On one occasion, speaking of Church reform, he said:—

I have talked a great deal, always with a view to the safety of the Establishment, about Ecclesiastical Reforms. Ecclesiastical Reforms seem just as remote as they were before anything was said on the subject. I am not going to speak about such things any more, and I will tell you why. Two hundred years ago, an ancestor of mine, the Lord Shaftesbury of that day, was one day making a speech in the House of Lords. Behind him sat the Bishops, and one of them, whose name I find recorded in history, and who disliked the Lord Shaftesbury of that day, perhaps nearly as much as the Bishops now dislike the Lord Shaftesbury of the present day, exclaimed, 'When will that Lord have done preaching?' My ancestor turned round to him, and said, 'Whenever your Lordships begin.' Well, I will not go on preaching any more about Ecclesiastical Reform, because it would be utterly useless, because I know their Lordships the Bishops will *never* begin.

Although he had to listen to endless reports of Societies, he never grew weary of them. They were not dry figures to him, but startling facts; he saw, beyond the mere tabulated statements, harvest-fields of Christian labour, and listened eagerly when the majority of hearers were listless. He said, playfully:—

I think it would be of the greatest value if the reports of the various Religious and Charitable Societies were at once, by Act of Parliament, elevated into the dignity of Blue Books. If every Member of Parliament, under the most severe penalty—and more particularly the Ministers of the day—were compelled to study them accurately, and then undergo a competitive examination, I am satisfied that great good would accrue to themselves and benefit to their country; their enlarged notions, and probably improved hearts, would be felt in the legislation of the country.

A good deal of controversy had arisen as to the state of the pulpit in the Church of England, and

strong assertions had been made that the style and manner of preaching were not adapted to the exigencies of the people. Referring to this controversy, Lord Shaftesbury said:—

We want a plainer style of speaking, but not plain in the sense of vapid, unmeaning words. It is a great mistake to talk of coming down to the level of the people. I recollect a great demagogue once saying in the House of Commons, 'I have had much experience in haranguing the people, and always made it a rule, whatever audience I addressed, to speak my very best, and then I found I was always best understood.' Use plain language, not vapid, thin, unmeaning language, but use language directed to their apprehensions, being drawn from thoughts and circumstances with which they are conversant; the deeper your thoughts, and the more metaphorical your language, the more easily you will convey your meaning to the people.

Deploring the falling away of some from the steadfastness of the faith, he says:—

When I turn to the right and to the left to seek for sympathy and help in these circumstances, I am met by language of this kind, 'Did you ever know a time when there was so much building of new churches? or, did you ever know a time when there was so much done for the restoration of old churches?' I answer, 'I never knew such a time.' I admit that the contributions for the building of new churches appear almost unbounded, and that the prevalent disposition to restore old churches seems almost equally remarkable. I wish I could see the same desire for the restoration of the old doctrine.

Speaking with reference to the question of religious services at the burial of Nonconformists, he says:—

I determined to make an effort to effect a compromise. I did devise a compromise. Of course I entered upon the inheritance that usually falls to the lot of those who mediate. I became obnoxious to both sides. I know it is said in Scripture, 'Blessed are the

peace-makers.' Spiritually, that is no doubt true, but terrestrially, it is the very reverse. I have generally found that those who interpose in such cases, though they do so with the best intentions, come off very badly in the effort which they make.

He institutes a comparison between John Wesley and Ignatius Loyola:—

I have always regarded two men as the two most remarkable men in modern history; very diverse, indeed, in their character; very diverse, indeed, in the ends which they proposed. I think the two greatest ecclesiastical administrators that I ever heard of in history were John Wesley and Ignatius Loyola. They have founded two antagonistic systems, and, until the end of time, there will be deadly enmity between these two. When it pleased God to allow Ignatius Loyola to be raised up for the purpose for which he was raised up, doubtless it was in the mind of God at some future time to let a man like John Wesley be raised up, who should show equal ability, equal power, equal determination, equal principle, but a million times deeper appreciation of the truth of that which was necessary for the heart of man,—of that alone which could make him great on earth, and ensure him an eternity of happiness in heaven.

Lord Shaftesbury had the happy art of enlivening his speeches with anecdotes of his contemporaries. Thus, when a speaker had expressed something like contempt for those who desired to see Convocation abolished, and remarked that they did not know what Convocation really was, because they were never there, Lord Shaftesbury replied:—

It may be perfectly true that we have not been in Convocation, but there is an old saying, 'By their fruits ye shall know them.' During my early life, I happened one day to be sitting in a Committee of the House of Commons by the side of the late Alderman Waithman. He was a man who had a rough kind of eloquence, in which he was very fond of indulging, and which

certainly did not charm the Members of that House as much as it charmed people elsewhere. The preceding evening he had made a speech in the House. He said to me, 'Did you hear me make my speech?' I replied that I did. 'What did you think of it?' he said. 'Well,' I replied, 'I thought it was a speech.' 'Ah!' he rejoined, 'if you want to hear me well, you must go to the Common Council.' I did not see the necessity in that case, nor do I in this. It has been remarked that Convocation is a somnolent body. It may be so, but it is a somnolent body that talks in its sleep. It talks, too, to the great disturbance of people who desire repose while lying on their beds.

On another occasion he said:—

I well recollect that after Sir Francis Burdett had changed his political opinions, and gone over to the Conservative side of the House of Commons, he made a speech, in which he said, 'I hate the cant of patriotism;' and on the same occasion Lord John Russell, who was then the leader of the Whig party, with great readiness and wit, remarked, 'The cant of patriotism is, no doubt, a bad thing, but what I hate more is the re-cant of patriotism.' I may apply this to dignitaries who go across the water commissioned to represent evangelical religion, and, as soon as they have come back, publish a paper with a view to upset a great part of the Book of Genesis, and a great part of the Book of Exodus, and I know not what. I tell such men that, while our enemies hate the cant, as they call it, of evangelical religion, I hate, quite as much, the recanting of evangelical truth.

It was a habit of Lord Shaftesbury's mind to look at almost every question from the standpoint of the poor. Thus, when the question of Evening Communion was under the consideration of the Evangelical clergy, he said:—

We must consider what has long been the condition of these people, and have some regard to their wants, habits, customs, and feelings, and we must remember that vast numbers of them, especially

the women, have not a moment's leisure from domestic duties till the evening, and the rectors and vicars of large parishes tell me that, for one poor man or woman who has attended morning Communion, fourteen or fifteen have attended evening Communion; and it is the testimony of those who have witnessed such scenes, that it is quite refreshing to observe the earnest, humble, and devout manner in which these poor creatures assemble round the table of their blessed Lord.

Again, on the same subject:—

The people are calling out for the Lord's Supper in the Mission Rooms. Now, if it were given out by a large body of the ministers of the Church, that they would administer the Communion in the evening, many of the poor with whom we have to deal would be likely to attend; but if it is to be given out that the ministers of the Church of England will never consider their convenience and necessities, they will certainly stay away from the churches altogether.

And how, I ask you, in such a refusal, can the Church of England call herself the 'Church of the people'?

In protesting against the use which certain Bishops and leading High Churchmen were making of the word "Schism," he said:—

A schismatic, with them, is any person who differs ecclesiastically from the externals of the Established Church; a schismatic, according to the Bible and Gospel, is a heretic, one who denies all, or any, of the doctrines which Christ taught. But to use the word to any one because he differs from the framework of the Establishment, because he cannot conform to all the decrees of the bishops and every form of priestly assumption, is, I hold it, a great profanation of the word, and a want of principle in the man who dares so to use it. That word has been applied so often to me that if I had really been guilty of schism I should have been in limbo long ago. They call me a Dissenter and the greatest schismatic who was ever produced. I am no schismatic. So long as a man holds to the Church of Christ he is not guilty, in a Scriptural sense, of any schism whatever.

During a period of great conflict in Ecclesiastical matters, some of the combatants were wont to apply to the Church of England the term "Apostate." This term Lord Shaftesbury indignantly repudiated.

This dear old mother Church is vexed on all sides by her recreant sons. Here she is torn by heresies and schisms; she is vexed by new projects which are suggested every day, wild and crude; without are fightings, within are fears; she is denounced by her enemies and harassed by her children; and yet she is crying with the loudest and tenderest voice to all her children, 'I am no apostate Church; as yet I have done nothing to betray my trust; hundreds and thousands of my children are apostate, but I myself am not an apostate Church.' So long as the Church of England stands firmly by her Formularies, her Articles, and her Homilies, and so long as she crowns all by declaring that the Bible is the sole ground of her faith, rejecting tradition and every argument of human invention, so long may she confidently assert that she is a true Church in the sight of God. It is on account of some of these excrescences, some of these follies, some of these abominations, that we are called upon to leave the embrace of our dear old mother. Leave her! Who has a right to probe my conscience and tell me what I ought to do here? Leave her! Why, I should just as soon have expected that Paul would call upon Timothy to renounce his grandmother Lois and his mother Eunice!

Lord Shaftesbury's speeches at the Annual Meetings of the British and Foreign Bible Society were, as a rule, very brief, and related, in great measure, to the business of the meeting. For many years his speeches consisted in an acknowledgment of his cordial reception (it was always enthusiastic), and an intimation that as the platform was full of notable speakers, he would not stand between them and the audience. Occasionally, however, and especially when any remarkable attacks

had been made upon the Bible, he would utter one of his most rousing appeals—of which the following may be taken as a characteristic specimen. To his view there was one, and only one, way out of every difficulty—the spread of that Book in which he believed a solution was to be found to every problem in life :—

The Bible, God's holy Word, will do its own work, and therefore it is that I urge the Bible Society to put forth its best energies ; to relax no effort in carrying on the work they have undertaken. Ay, the Bible will do its work in another way. It will counsel those who take a dark political view of the present times to look to God for protection against the evils which may be coming upon us. The Word of God will prove itself to be the chief defence of nations, the chief assurer of internal peace, the great bulwark against external danger from abroad. Who can be blind to the fact that there are many who desire the Empire we possess? Who can doubt that there are many who look with hatred upon the civil and religious liberty which we enjoy, and who would band themselves together with infinite satisfaction to curb, suppress, and extinguish the last spark of liberty to be found in this great country? And do you think we are able to cope, single-handed, with all these Powers? No, we are not able to do so. Where, then, shall we look for alliances? Shall we look for merely earthly alliances? I tell you that merely earthly alliances have always been uncertain. They are not only uncertain, but they are feeble and treacherous. If you look for alliances, if you look for strength, I tell you to look here. Our strength lies in that old, effete Book—that Book so full of 'old wives' fables'—that Book which they say is so unsuited to the present generation—that Book which is not equal to the present intelligence of man. Ay, that old Book, THAT shall be the source of our safety, and of our greatness. Amid all the conflicts of the nations that are coming upon the earth, that Book shall be our life, our light, our security, our joy, our pillar of cloud by day, our pillar of fire by night, our guide through all our perils ; and it will be found in that great day that none but those who are engaged in this work, none but those

who have the Bible in their hands and in their hearts, will be able to meet the great conflict, and stand in their lot at the end of the days.

For the Young Men's Christian Association Lord Shaftesbury entertained an almost parental affection, and was wont to speak of its members as his "sons." "I have always looked upon this Association," he said, "and all kindred associations in all parts of the United Kingdom and in America, as grand cities of refuge from the commercial life, individually and collectively, of the several nations—places where young men, coming from a distance, and removed from all parental influence, and all the influence of domestic life, may find shelter, and where they may learn the way of Salvation, and obtain courage and confidence to walk in it."

In giving a few illustrations of his stimulating and inspiring speeches, it is hardly necessary to point out the facility with which he adapted himself to the tastes and feelings of young men; garnishing his remarks with an occasional dash of politics, or humorous anecdote, or touch of personal history. Thus, speaking of the prospects open to young men, he said:—

> We see before us many, I have no doubt, who may shine in the House of Commons; I do not think we shall see many of you shine in the House of Lords, for I fear that venerable assembly will hardly be allowed to subsist much longer. But, if it does, I think I shall move an address to the Queen—as there is now a question of having life peers—that two of the most prominent gentlemen in the discussion of this point shall be created Earl of Trafalgar Square and Baron of Hyde Park!

In addressing a meeting of the delegates from Foreign Associations in connection with the Young

Men's Christian Association at the Mansion House, he said he regarded this large assembly of representatives from the various nationalities of the earth as a great Œcumenical Council convened to consider the highest welfare of the human race. He hoped and believed that the present Œcumenical Council would not resemble those of which Fuller in his "Ecclesiastical History" had written, "When I come to think of these Councils, I am constrained to say, 'There is none that doeth good—no, not one.'"

His happy method of drawing lessons from the current topics of the day is illustrated in the following quotation from a speech made during the Franco-Prussian war. He had been pointing out that temptations and dangers surrounded young men in this metropolis on every hand; that they could not turn to the right or the left without being exposed to seductions and perils that did not beset their forefathers.

Now, the delusions are tenfold more attractive, and the amusements infinitely more deceptive; and hundreds and thousands of young men and women enter into a career of vice in utter ignorance of the nature and end of such a career. Not till they have drunk in the poison that has been instilled by small doses; not till they feel it rankling in their veins, do they see and feel that career to be one which it is difficult to retire from. One of the greatest difficulties to be considered in the present day is the recreation and amusements that are fit for young men and adapted to them. I must admit that some recreation is necessary; that some diversion of spirit is requisite, and that there must be some relief to anxiety and change from the dulness and regularity of business. How, and what, is this to be? Observe the peculiar character of a nation that has lately come before us in so prominent a manner. Take the German people. Look at the moral character of the men—taking a serious view of

everything, and finding in their hours of recreation the opportunity of advancing their intellectual knowledge and moral character. Mark the invincible power of their arms, being thoroughly united. Contrast them with the leaders of the French armies; they seemed to care for nothing but amusements, and never heartily associated with their troops, consequently never were sustained by their troops in the hour of danger. Now I have never been amongst those who object to recreation. I thoroughly admit of its necessity, but then, I say, take care of the character of the recreation. Even in your amusements there may be something tending to your moral improvement, and you should enter upon nothing which does not tend to this. By your moral, determined character and self-control, it is in your power to add dignity and force to your characters. Look again at that nation of France resolved into its original element, without any principle of cohesion. If our people approximate, in any degree whatever, to the condition of things at present existing in unhappy France, all honour, peace, and security will be gone from this now happy and richly-blessed island. . . . The French, who have devoted themselves to amusements, have been found in the hour of trial to have no mutual sympathy, no steady pursuits, no definite aims, and have now fallen into the most complete disorganisation, having previously, as the Military Envoy to the Court at Berlin declared, 'long lost the faculty of respecting anything in heaven or earth.' If you would add dignity and force and security to the times in which you live, you will remember this, politically, socially, morally, and religiously: that those three words which seem to exercise so mighty a charm on the other side of the water, but which, as applied by them, have no meaning whatever, will have very much meaning with you when understood in this sense, that there is no Liberty but in the Gospel, no Equality but in the Truth, and no Fraternity but in Jesus Christ.

On the transfer of the headquarters of the Association to Exeter Hall, an impetus was given to all its operations, and Lord Shaftesbury became more intimately associated than ever with this admirable institution.

It is somewhat a curious coincidence, that Exeter

Hall stands almost close to the site of Exeter House, where dwelt, in troublous times, Anthony Ashley, the first Earl of Shaftesbury; and that the City Branch of the Young Men's Christian Association in Aldersgate Street stands opposite "Shaftesbury Hall," once Thanet House, the residence of the first Earl at the time of his arrest and conviction to the Tower.

In Lord Shaftesbury's addresses to the members of the Young Men's Christian Association he frequently gave them little snatches of autobiography. Thus, when referring to the gymnasium, he said:—

> When I see the vast number of young men before me who are engaged the whole day long in heated rooms, some never sitting down, some never standing up, occupied in businesses which are not conducive to physical health, I feel that it is absolutely necessary that the body should be regarded; that you should be able to develop your muscular and physical faculties, and get them into order and shape; and that the body should be cherished in an honourable, noble, and becoming way, and made more adapted and suitable to the great intellectual purposes of which it is only the depository. I hope you will use the gymnasium well. I speak as an old practitioner, for though, when I was a young man, we had no gymnastics of this sort, we learned the noble art of self-defence, which is called boxing. And I can tell you I was a very good boxer. I never fought with anybody, but I found it developed the strength, gave play to the respiratory organs, and that I was a better man for all the other purposes before me.

In the following year, when distributing the prizes after a gymnastic display, he stated that, during the past fifty years of his life, he had scarcely let a morning pass without indulging in a little of the fine exercises which they had witnessed that evening, and to this fact

he attributed, in no small degree, his present enjoyment of health.

One of the subjects on which Lord Shaftesbury was wont to speak with great force and earnestness, when advocating the claims of pure literature, was the pernicious, impure, and sensational works for the young constantly issuing from the press. He regarded it as an abominable and fearful plague that was ravaging the whole of our juvenile population. He said:—

> It is creeping not only into the houses of the poor, neglected, and untaught, but into the largest mansions; penetrating undiscovered into religious families and astounding careful parents by its frightful issues. It is only by public opinion, by special care, by watching in the most minute manner, that this can be counteracted. It rests with teachers and parents to do their best, and when they have done their best, they will still be surrounded with great and almost irresistible danger.

And again, when commending the efforts made to promote the circulation of healthy literature, he asks how without such efforts could the flood of compositions "the most insidious, the most attractive, the most skilful, and the most deceptive of all the literature that ever emanated from the minds of men," be stemmed?

> Some time ago I was led to look into works like those to which I allude, very seriously, and I was struck by the beauty of the composition, and by the artful way in which the most wicked and foul ideas were conveyed. I observed, particularly, the manner in which they were especially addressed to the minds of young men and young women; how the most pure-minded young man, or the most modest young woman, might read one of these works twice or thrice without discerning the object of the composition, and perhaps would never discern it until the poison had entered the soul.

In fact, these things had been written with so much astuteness and with so much care, that I would defy any writer that ever was, or any writer that ever will be, to draw an Act of Parliament containing clauses that would suffice to put down such literature as that.

Exhaustless as are the speeches of Lord Shaftesbury, his reminiscences of scenes and incidents in connection with his philanthropic labours are not less so. It was very pleasant to listen to him, as in the last few years of his life he loved to dwell on the memories of the past, and fight his battles o'er again. Excellent as he was on the platform, he was inimitable by the fireside, where, as he recounted his experiences, he would suit the action to the word much more than in his public addresses.

Few things delighted him more than to tell the story of Ragged School work and Ragged School workers. Some of his reminiscences, narrated to the writer, who jotted them down as they were spoken, will be read with interest.

I could tell you some wonderful tales about these rescued lives. The story of the Ragged School is the story of the greatest triumph of modern times. I have seen the most startling development of heroic virtue, the most cheering evidences of the grace of God, in these poor creatures struggling into the light. They make the best of all converts, and it seems to me the Lord interposes with more grace in behalf of the utterly destitute and hopeless than He does with any others.

I remember one night at the George Yard Ragged School. A magic lantern had been purchased to interest the poor things, and I went down to have a talk with them, as a series of slides, representing the Crucifixion of our Lord and the attendant circumstances, was to be exhibited. There were about four hundred people in the room, and the police told me that between four and five hundred

were turned away. The interest in the pictures was intense, and I shall never forget their earnest, excited faces, as the scenes in the sacred drama passed before them. The last picture represented our Lord standing beside a closed door, and the text at the foot of the picture was 'Behold I stand at the door and knock.' The effect was startling—it seemed to bring the story home to every heart, and when I said, 'What you see there is going on at the door of every house in Whitechapel,' they were moved to tears (and the eyes of the old Earl filled and his voice faltered as the scene came back to him again). It was a revelation to them, and when I told them that, if they would throw open the door, He would 'come and sup with them,' there was something so cosy and comfortable to them in the idea of it that they came pouring round me and thanking me. Poor, dear souls! they do not care much for churches and chapels and the outward forms; they like their religion to be cosy; it fills them with hope of what may some day be their lot, for now they have no comforts in their lives. I wonder how it is they do not die of despair!

On another occasion he was sitting in the library at Grosvenor Square, with two portraits before him. One was that of a poor, puny, destitute child in rags and tatters; the other of a handsome woman in fashionable attire. He said:—

Just look at these portraits—they have rejoiced my heart more than I can ever tell. I am more delighted than if I had become possessed of half the kingdom. There is a strange story connected with these portraits. Years ago, late at night, there was a knock at the door. There was nothing very unusual about that, but, somehow, it attracted my attention more than usual, and I remember wondering who it could be, and what the business could be about. Presently, I heard the loud and angry voice of a man in altercation with my servant. I felt then—and I recall the feeling vividly at this moment—a strange inward prompting that it was my duty to go and see what was the matter. There was a man with a little child in his arms which he was endeavouring to thrust into the arms of my servant, who of course would not take it. 'What is this all about?' I

asked. The man turned to me, and said, 'Lord Shaftesbury, I have brought this child to you—I don't know what else to do with it. I cannot trust myself to be its father, and I cannot abandon it altogether.'

The man's importunity would brook no denial; his appeal was very touching, and I felt I could not dismiss the case. I let the man come in, and took down from him all particulars, and the end of it was that the child was left with me. I did not know very well what to do with the poor little thing, so I had her sent to an inn close by for the night, and the next day, when the landlady of the inn brought her back, Miss Rye happened to be here. She undertook to find a home for the child, and, sure enough, before very long, a lady, who visited the Home in which she was, took such a fancy to her that she adopted her. And that portrait of the fine lady is the portrait of what that little ragged destitute child has developed into. I shall never forget that night when she was left at this house. I feel as convinced that I was moved to do what I did by our blessed Lord as if I had seen Him in person and heard His voice.

Few things irritated Lord Shaftesbury more than to hear the poor spoken of as "outcasts," or work for the poor as "hopeless" work.

Hopeless, indeed! Why, look at my friend 'Punch'—as we called him. Punch had been a source of annoyance to almost the whole of the workhouses of the metropolis. He went from casual ward to casual ward, 'prigging' the clothes—that is the right word—and showing himself altogether one of the most abandoned scamps in London. At last he came to the Refuge in Great Queen Street. Seeing him there, I said to him, 'Punch, how can you go on in such a way as this? You have got some good about you; you have good abilities and you have strength; shall we make a man of you, Punch?' Punch replied: 'Well, I don't mind if you do.' Well, we set about trying, and, by God's blessing, we did make a man of him. Having been made a first-rate shoemaker, he went out to Natal, to carry on business there, and he is, I hope, carrying on business successfully, and maintaining the honourable character which he had when he left the Refuge.

For Ragged School teachers, Lord Shaftesbury never lost an opportunity of saying a kind and encouraging word. He admired their self-denying zeal and Christian courage—and many a time he thrilled his audiences at public meetings by narrating incidents in connection with their work. Speaking, in the country, of the Field Lane School, which afforded the most extraordinary exhibitions of human nature that the world ever saw, he paid the following tribute to a woman's influence:—

I have there seen men of forty years of age and children of three in the same room—men the wildest and most uncouth, whom it was considered dangerous to meet, and perhaps it would be dangerous to meet them in the dark alone, but in that room they were perfectly safe. I saw there thirty or forty men, none of them with shoes or stockings on, and some without shirts—the wildest and most awful looking men you can imagine. They all sat in a ring, and the only other human being in the room was a young woman of twenty-six or twenty-seven years of age, and, allow me to add, one of the prettiest women I ever saw. She was teaching all these wild, rough, uncouth creatures, who never bowed the head to any constable or any form of civil authority, yet they looked on her with a degree of reverence and affection that amounted almost to adoration. 'I was greatly alarmed, and, going downstairs and meeting the superintendent, I said, 'My good fellow, I don't like this; there she is among all those roughs. I am very much alarmed.' 'So am I,' he said. 'Then why do you leave her there?' I asked. He replied: 'I am not alarmed from the same reason that you are. You are alarmed lest they should offer some insult to her, but what I am afraid of is this, that some day a man might drop in who, not knowing the habits of the place, might lift a finger against her, and if he did so, he would never leave the room alive; he would be torn limb from limb.' So great was the reverence that these lawless and apparently ungovernable creatures paid to the grace and modesty of that young woman.

Stories of Lord Shaftesbury's affection for little children—and the more ragged and helpless and hopeless they were, the greater seemed to be his love for them—could be multiplied without end.

A little child, rejoicing in the name of "Tiny," hearing that in the Refuge where her lot was cast there was to be a new dormitory, to be furnished by subscriptions, took upon herself to write to him and ask him for a subscription.

THE GIRLS' REFUGE, ANDREW'S ROAD,

CAMBRIDGE HEATH, *Feb. 7th*, 1876.

DEAR LORD SHAFTESBURY,—You will see by the address that I have changed my home from Albert Street, where, I remember, you spoke to me, and told me about your dog. I am still called 'Tiny,' although there is a little girl less than I am.

If you please, Lord Shaftesbury, I want to ask you if you will give a bed to our new home. Fifty of the girls of the highest division have been sent from Albert Street here, and we have contributed the cost of one (£2 14s. 4d.) ourselves out of our little store. You will come, I hope, and see our new home. Mr. Gent will tell you where it is. I am sure you will like it, for I do, and my sister is with me. Please come and see us and the pictures a gentleman gave us.

I remain, yours respectfully,

'TINY.'

His considerate and characteristic reply gives a glimpse of that wealth of tenderness which won the hearts of all, but especially of the young, and made them think of him more as a father than a friend, and speak of him as "our Earl."

Feb. 11*th*, 1876.

MY DEAR SMALL TINY,—I must thank you for your nice letter, and say that, God willing, I will certainly call and see your new home, and you too, little woman. You ask me to give 'a bed' to the new home. To be sure I will. I will give two, if you wish it, and they shall be called 'Tiny's petitions.'

I am glad to see how well you write; and I shall be more glad to hear from Gent, and your other friends, that you are a good girl, that you read your Bible, say your prayers, and love the blessed Lord Jesus Christ. May He ever be with you!

Your affectionate friend,

SHAFTESBURY.

To Tiny, at King Edward's School.

The London shoe-blacks, to a boy, knew Lord Shaftesbury, and felt that he was a personal friend. One day a friend of his Lordship's was having his boots cleaned, and he said to the lad, "I've seen Lord Shaftesbury." "Have you indeed? I shall see him myself on Friday." (That was the day for the annual meeting at Exeter Hall.)

A student, anxious to test what was the real feeling of these Ragged School shoe-blacks for their patron, spoke disparagingly of Lord Shaftesbury to one of them, and denounced him for assisting juvenile thieves and roughs, all of whom, he said, ought to be in prison rather than at school. The poor boy fired up at this, and said, "Don't you speak against Lord Shaftesbury, sir; if you do, God Almighty will never bless you."

"What the poor want is not patronage, but sympathy," was his own axiom, and when the poor

saw him driving into their "slums" with his carriage full of toys for the neglected little ones; when, on the great day of the year—"the day in the country"—they saw him moving about among them, with a kind word here, and a little pleasantry there, and a smile for all; when, in their times of sickness, he sat by their bed-sides, and read to them from the Scriptures; when he promised to see them again, or send them books, or interest himself in other ways for them, and, notwithstanding the many promises of this kind he made, *was never known to leave one unfulfilled;* when they found that he could trust them, finding tools for one to get employment, advancing money to another till his first wages fell due; when they were confident that if a poor flower-girl, or little children in distress, called at Grosvenor Square to tell their troubles to "the good Earl," they would never be turned away; when they knew that, by day and by night, he went to the common lodging-houses, and sought out men and women, tenderly reared, who were hiding away from family and friends, and would not give up a case until he had seen them reconciled, and, perchance, brought home again; when the bare walls of those miserable lodging-houses, on the day after his visit were made gay with bright pictures to produce the semblance of a home-like look; when, as some of them told him of cruel wrong or heart-breaking sorrow, they saw the tears pour down his face, and heard his faltering exclamation, "God help you, poor dear!"—it is no wonder that they almost worshipped the ground upon which he trod, and that his

name was held in veneration in every hovel of Whitechapel and Westminster.

How widely that name was known among the poorest of the poor few ever imagined.

At a large gathering of costermongers, labourers, tramps, and others, held in Westminster, a gentleman was anxious to test what knowledge people of this class had of great public men. He referred to one who, though well advanced in life, and pressed with a thousand engagements, could yet find time to write hymns in Latin, and translate them into Italian; but there was no recognition of the person from the description; nor again when half a dozen of the leading men of the day were referred to in a similar manner; but when the speaker only hinted at "the labours of one whose name is revered in the factory districts as the friend of the poor and the oppressed," there was immediately a loud clapping of hands; and when the speaker, to make sure that they understood, asked them, "I suppose, by that applause, you know to whom I refer?" there was a ready response—"Lord Shaftesbury."

Another gentleman, in another place, having indirectly referred to the work of Lord Shaftesbury without mentioning his name, was surprised to find himself interrupted by a storm of applause. It was clear the applause was not for what he had said, but for the man of whom he had spoken. Pausing in his address, he said, "And what do you know of Lord Shaftesbury?"

"Know of him!" answered a man standing up in the audience; "why, sir, I'm a sweep, and what did he

do for me? Didn't he pass the Bill? Why, when I was a little 'un, I had to go up the chimbleys, and many a time I've come down with bleeding feet and knees, and a'most choking. And he passed the Bill as saved us from all that. That's what I know of him."

But what could the poor, generally, know of him? it may be asked. Let one illustration, from a hundred that might be quoted, suffice to answer. "When visiting the Day School, which he frequently did," says Mr. George Holland, of the George Yard Ragged School, Whitechapel, in a letter to the writer, "he would go the round of each section, would notice the lessons the children were learning, and kindly encourage them to persevere. He frequently noticed the pallid faces of many of the scholars. Speaking to a poor boy one winter's day, he asked, 'My man, what is the matter with you?' The boy replied, 'I have had no food for some time.' 'How long have you been without?' 'About twenty-six hours.' 'Twenty-six hours!' said the Earl, 'why, you must be fainting; no wonder you look ill.' 'Oh, that's nothing,' said the boy; 'I have gone without two days afore now.' That day the Earl spoke to all the children, and many were without necessary food. Going to a little girl, he asked, 'And are you not well, my dear?' 'Ise hungry—ise cold,' she replied. 'And when you have food, what does mother give you?' 'We has the same as mother; we has bread and water, and sometimes a little tea; but mother can't always afford that.' 'Poor child,' said the Earl; 'why, you have hardly any clothing to cover you.'

He left the schoolroom and entered into one of the small rooms. Presently I followed. I observed tears trickling down his face. 'My Lord,' I said, 'what is the matter?' 'George, those poor children. Poor dear children, how will you get on with them?' I replied, 'My God shall supply all their need.' 'Yes,' he said, 'He will; they must have some food directly.' He left the building, and entering his brougham, ordered the coachman to drive home. A few hours after, two large churns of soup were sent down, enough to feed four hundred. This continued; and that winter 10,000 basins of soup and bread were distributed to hungry children and their parents; soup made in his own mansion in Grosvenor Square."

If the poor had many memorials of Lord Shaftesbury, he certainly had many of them. Over his bed, in Grosvenor Square, hung a handsome "sampler" worked by factory girls, the first-fruits of their leisure hours; the clock in his dining-room was presented to him by flower and watercress girls; his bed coverlet under which at St. Giles's he always slept was made out of little bits of material, with a figure in the middle, and a large letter "S," the work of a number of ragged children. Speaking, one day, at the Annual Meeting of the Reformatory and Refuge Union, he tried to tell how much he was indebted to these children, and said:—

I believe I have been pretty well clothed by day and by night by them. I have had all sorts of things made and given to me; I have had slippers and stockings; I have had shoes and waistcoats, and bed-linen too; coverlets, counterpanes—well, everything but a coat;

I have had desks, I have had arm-chairs, and they gave me such a quantity of writing paper, all well stamped, that I assure you it was enough for all my own correspondence for six months. I love it, however, because it has been all called forth from their dear little hearts, and I prize it all far more than the noblest present that could be given me.

They were words of truth and soberness he spoke when he said :—

I thank God for the day when I was called, by His grace, to participate in this holy work. Of all the things to which I have been called by His good and all-wise Providence, there is not one like it, not one that has brought me so much comfort, not one that I can look back upon with so much consolation, that rests with so much joy upon my heart, and there is not one I look forward to with so much hope.

Not less true and not less sober were these words, spoken in 1880 :—

If my life should be prolonged for another year, and if, during that year, the Ragged School system were to fall, I should not die in the course of nature, I should die of a broken heart.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

1883—1885. LAST YEARS.

The Evening of Life—Memory—A Curious Study—In a Dilemma—Holland House—"Let Me Die in Harness"—Summary of Labours—Acrobats—Luther Commemoration—Donkey Show—The Housing of the Poor—Articles Thereon—Royal Commission—Lord Salisbury's Act—Public Honours—Banquet at Mansion House—Freedom of the City—At Brighton—A Goodly Record—Letter from Rev. C. H. Spurgeon—Last Visit to Scotland—Letter to Canon Wilberforce—The House of Lords—Correspondence with Lord Rosebery—Home Rule—Public and Private Morality—Inquiry into Lunacy Laws—Lord Selborne's Lunacy Amendment Bill—Miss Marsh—Mr. Weylland—Gifts and Legacies—Distribution of £60,000 in Charities—The Sunday Question—Earl Cairns—Eighty-fourth Birthday—Failing Strength—Last Visits—Protection of Young Girls—Last Entries in the Diary—Folkestone—A Sacred Chamber—Into the Light—Memorial Service in Westminster Abbey—In St. Giles's Church—Conclusion.

THE evening of life takes its character from the day which has preceded it, and Lord Shaftesbury, in the closing years of his long career, exemplified all those excellences of character which had marked his prime, and enjoyed those comforts of religious hope which result from communion with God and service to man. As the outward man began to perish, the inward man was renewed day by day, and though the suppleness and strength and activity of the body began to fail, the well-exercised soul grew stronger, its vision was wider, its rest more perfect. Beautiful it is, on a calm summer's evening, when the work of the day is

nearly done, to watch the sun lingering in the heavens and transforming everything by its golden rays, and not less beautiful is it to gaze upon a saintly life, when "at evening-tide it is light."

It had long been his prayer that he "might die in harness," and at his advanced age it could not be but that every act should be clothed with an air of sacredness—it might be his last. And still he laboured on, his faculties keenly alive, his heart tender as ever, his sympathies just as fresh, and his plans as numerous as at any period of his life.

There is nothing more curious, in the whole of the Diaries of Lord Shaftesbury, than the record of his old age. He contemplates it in a hundred unexpected ways, and from very original standpoints; he speculates upon it, as if he were a disinterested person; he naïvely describes and discusses feelings and sensations common to old age, but as if he had not the least conception that they proceeded from that cause. Thus, in 1883, when visiting his friends at Castle Wemyss, where his health hitherto had always been benefited, he begins to think "the air is relaxing. Soon get tired. I should like to try a very bracing climate." It does not seem to occur to him, that the difference in feeling is due to age. But he has frequent reminders, for, although he would not let go one of the occupations or amusements of former days, he finds that they are not to him what they were. Yachting and voyaging were once his delight. He still seeks enjoyment from them, but adds:—

Sept. 18th, 1883.—Living on board, and sleeping on board, to me very unpleasant. The day-time is tolerable, the night-time horrible. The cribs—the places intended as places of repose, but, as such, utter failures—may suit young ones, but they are cramps, fetters, leg-racks, body-racks, existence-racks to old ones. Perhaps strong, elastic, bounding health might give other views and sensations; but in my present state I wish, so far as I am concerned, my yacht at the bottom of the Red Sea.

Although, to the very last, his memory was remarkably clear, it was but natural that there should, at his great age, be occasional failures, especially in respect of passing things. If there was one thing that he prided himself upon, it was the exact and literal accuracy of his public statements, and it is remarkable how few errors in this respect he made in the course of his long life, and of the unprecedented number of speeches which he made. The following entries furnish curious material for a study of the peculiarities of old age, besides giving an illustration of Lord Shaftesbury's painstaking diligence even in minute things:—

March 9th, 1881.—On Tuesday, 7th, went in evening with Lionel to Bethnal Green 'Ashley Mission.' There recited a story by way of illustration of benefit of Bands of Mercy; told them that I had, that very morning, received a letter from a gentleman, who informed me that he was one of the boys whom I had, some years before, given a prize at a great school in Lancashire, for an essay on 'Humanity to Animals.' I quoted this as an instance of a boy 'reformed' from cruelty to kindness.

The detail was clear, minute, personal, specific; had I been called on to make an oath, I should have sworn readily to the very words. When I returned I looked at the letter for confirmation of what I had said. I found nothing of the kind! How was this? Was it a delusion? If so, never was one so pointed, systematic, so like reality before. It fills me with terror. What might I not have said or

done under such deep convictions in more serious matters? God, in His mercy, preserve me! If true, where is the document? Had I a second letter, and did I confound it with the first? If so, the second is lost. I could not swear that the thing was as I stated, for I find the evidence to be defective; but most conscientiously could I swear that I fully believed it. God alone in His goodness and compassion can relieve my mind. Heartily do I beseech Him.

July 26th, 1882.—In a terrible dilemma! Quoted, in a speech I made in the House of Lords in 1876, a passage from Letters of Sir C. Bell, in which he expresses his doubt 'whether Vivisection is permitted by God's law.' Referred to it again, in a speech in 1879. It has never been challenged. Two days ago, wishing to verify quotation with a view to a letter to Professor Owen, could not find anywhere the book from which I made it. Searched through and through, backwards and forwards, a copy of the Letters, dated 1870, the year of publication. Could find it nowhere. Showed the quotation to Miss Cobbe and Miss Coleridge, who, both of them, attested its veracity, though neither could furnish me with the volume. I could swear, was I called upon to do so, that the extract was word for word as I stated it in speech and in print. How came the book into my hands? Was it lent to me? Or was it hired from a circulating library? Have a recollection that I sent it back to some one, and purchased a copy for myself, but one of a later edition (though not so stated on the title-page), with the passage struck out. It is a terrible grief to me; for, if summoned to give the evidence on which I founded my assertion, I could not do it. Yet I am as certain of my truth in the matter, as I am of my own existence.

A miracle was wrought by Elisha to recover the axe-head of a poor labourer. So do I pray that one, by God's mercy, may be wrought for me, and that I may discover, to my justification and comfort, the proof of my accuracy and sincerity.

July 27th.—No discovery as yet; tried the publisher Murray, and Sharpe the bookseller.

Sometimes he was painfully conscious of declining physical strength, and he describes his feelings with singular minuteness. Thus:—

August 24th, 1881.—Wonderfully well, thank God, for my time of life. Yet full of distressing sensations; but how much worse, were it not for His mercy, would all things be. Oftentimes, feel as though my heart would never have another pulsation. Nerves of the head seem to be made of leather, with occasional tendencies of giddiness. When I speak, my voice appears to me—but not, so they say, to others—as though I were speaking through all the cotton in Lancashire. Never quite free from pain. Sometimes very severe in the region of the stomach. I eat very little, quite enough, I think, for support, but in most instances without relish. These things come upon me, now singly—now all at once. God's will be done. This state, modified more or less, has been my state for the last two years.

At other times the advance of old age was borne in upon him by the memory of what he had survived. Thus, when visiting Holland House in the summer of 1883, he felt "like a mere cypher to the society around him. There was not one in five hundred of the guests" he could "put a name to."

What a grand, memorable, and beautiful place it is! It recalls to my memory the society, political, intellectual, convivial, and genial, of sixty years ago. It recalls the memory of some estimable, and some non-estimable persons—all dead and gone; perhaps, at the grand garden-party of yesterday, not one besides myself had ever seen this Palace in its prime, under the famous proprietors, Lord and Lady Holland; and soon, no doubt, the glorious mansion itself, and the noble, ancient park around it, will be consigned to the erection of some thousand edifices; to the domain of brick and mortar. The price it would fetch for building purposes, perhaps half-a-million, will overcome reverence for antiquity, sense of beauty, and all ennobling contemplations. It brought a feeling of sadness over me. But such is progress! And, perhaps, the Prose of the Future may be equal, if not superior, to the Poetry of the Past.

It is the spirit in which he resolutely set his face to arduous and grinding duty, that shows the lustre of Lord Shaftesbury's latter days in their full brightness. The night was coming when he could no longer work. And under fits of unspeakable depression, in states of health in which other men would never have dreamed of facing any exhausting labour, he persevered in his old career. "While I have a little strength, and a little time," he wrote, "I cannot, though I shrink from exertion, endure to be idle or silent." And then, to fortify himself for the task from which he shrank, he breathes the prayer, "O Lord! let me die 'in harness,' as it were, with a true heart and adequate faculties about me."

We can but summarise a few of the many public labours in which he was engaged during the year 1883. In January, he presided at a meeting at the Mansion House, to do honour to the memory of Archbishop Tait—"a good man," as he says, "worthy of all honour." In March, he spoke in the House of Lords in defence of Lord Stanhope's Bill for Prohibition of Wages in Public Houses, and attended a conference of working men on the closing of public-houses on Sunday. In April, he gave notice of opposition to Lord Dunraven's motion "to desecrate and vulgarise the Lord's Day," a motion that was defeated, in May, by a majority of twenty-four. In June, he presided at public meetings—one a combined meeting of Church of England, Presbyterians, Roman Catholics and others, convened by the Church Union (the High

Ritualistic society) against the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill. In July, he went to Manchester, accompanied by his friend Mr. Hind Smith, to lay the corner-stone of a Refuge for Boys and Girls, and to receive an ovation from all classes of the community, but especially from his old clients, the operatives. It had been a cherished hope that he might "be able to do a little good, and have a real and touching farewell in that city, the scene of so many successful labours." And his expectations were more than realised, it was "a miracle of God's mercy, love and goodness."

In July, Lord Shaftesbury received a letter which distressed him greatly. It was from a man who had been for more than twenty years connected with gymnasts, acrobats, circus-riders, and the like, giving a harrowing description of the tortures to which children were subjected in the "education for their professional career." Although the Parliamentary Session was drawing to a close, Lord Shaftesbury would not let it pass without an effort on behalf of the "hundreds, nay thousands of children who are constantly being immolated on the altar of public amusement." It was not the first time that he had called the attention of the legislature to "exhibitions disgusting to every sense of humanity," but this did not prevent him from a further effort. On the 4th of August, therefore, he brought the matter forward again, in order to show that the Children's Dangerous Performance Act of 1879 was almost futile in its operation, and that barbarities were still committed which were a disgrace to a Christian nation.

"If your lordships," he said, "had seen and knew, as I have seen and know, during an experience of twenty years, the floggings and cruelties practised in the so-called tuition of those little ones, and the hardships they have to endure, I am sure your lordships would not lose an instant in trying to stop those cruelties at once and for ever."

He pointed out how School Board Inspectors might intervene, as schooling and gymnast training could never go together, and how magistrates might institute inquiries. But laws, though good and necessary, were ineffective, unless backed up by public opinion, and one of his ends was gained by the publicity given to the question and a correspondence that arose thereon in the public press. A year later, in the preface to a little book on the subject,* he set forth his views on the whole matter, and spoke in no measured terms of those who "have almost fainted under a sensation novel, and will pass the same evening to witness the torture and danger of infantine gymnasts and acrobats." His only hope from legislation was, that some day an enactment, strictly enforced, should prohibit any one to appear in these exhibitions until he, or she, had attained the age of seventeen years. The long delay before profits could be realised, would then cut off the hope of repayment for the cost of training and maintenance.

In August, there came a pause, and he once more paid his annual visit to Scotland, to the hospitable home

* "Pantomime Waifs; or a Plea for our City Children." By Miss Barlee.

of Mr. J. Burns, at Castle Wemyss. But in November the round of labour was recommenced, of which the following extract gives a specimen :—

Nov. 11th, Sunday.—London. To be sure, a day of rest is a blessing. God grant that while I have life and strength, I may labour more and more to secure it for others ! Yesterday, a day of singular activity. Interviews in the morning, and letters ; at 2.30, Inaugural Meeting, in Large Room, Exeter Hall, of Luther Commemoration ; at 3.30, to Whitechapel, to lay foundation-stone of Charrington's new place of worship, for such it is—return home ; and then again to Whitechapel, at seven o'clock, for great meeting in the evening. All got through without let or hindrance, without pain or fatigue, I bless Thee, O Lord ! Speeches, of course, at each. He can, and He does, oftentimes, make an iron pillar out of a bulrush.

None of the thousands who heard Lord Shaftesbury's remarkable speech at the Luther Commemoration will ever forget it. It was a supreme effort for an octogenarian. In a letter to a friend, referring to the admirable report of his speech in the *Times*, he said, " I was convinced that the movement was religious or nothing. I spent two days in thinking, not what I should say, but what I should not say."

In this speech he set forth vividly the state of things from which Luther delivered the Church, the manner in which he did it, and the great issues and results enjoyed in consequence. It was a magnificent eulogium of "one of the most signal servants of Almighty God—the man, chosen by God Himself, to deliver us from the most terrible and degrading thraldom of mind and spirit that ever fell upon the human race."

The following passages from the Diary relate to a variety of subjects :—

April 7th.—Last night to King Edward's School to present testimonial to Charles Montague, formerly a Ragged School boy, now a well-conditioned and respectable tradesman, and superintendent also of the very school where he was trained—a noble example. God give us many such.

April 23rd.—On Friday, received, at the public meeting of the Young Women's Christian Association, a silver inkstand and pencil-case from the penny contributions of many of the girls. It was gracious and pleasing. I hardly deserve the acknowledgment, for though I have secretly and silently, and for very long earnestly prayed for their temporal and eternal welfare (this they will not know), I have done but little outwardly, having had but limited time and no appreciable money to use on their behalf.

June 27th.—Went last night to meeting of Flower and Watercress Girls. It is deeply touching and interesting. They gave me, as a token of their gratitude for the institution of 'The Emily Loan Fund' (founded in honour of my blessed wife in 1872), a clock. May God in His mercy be with them all!

July 3rd. — To Costermongers' Donkey and Pony Show in evening, and afterwards Anniversary Meeting. It is one of the happiest successes in all our London movements. Forgot (and I deeply regret it), when I spoke, two main points: one, to exhibit Orsman's merits, as giving, and as having given for twenty years, all his time to this grand work after the weariness of his office hours; the other, that the example of the Costers of 'Golden Lane' (their original designation) in their treatment of the animals that belonged to them, had led to an universal improvement all over London.

Sept. 2nd.—Sunday. Evelyn and Sissey sailed last night to the Mediterranean Sea in search of health. May God preserve them in the hollow of His hand, give them what is sought on her behalf, and bring them back in safety! May this be their last exile! Gracious Lord, after this present trial, in Thy mercy restore to them their home, and all the domestic duties and joys, of which they have been so long deprived!

Sept. 10th.—Gladstone has been hammering at his trees, as,

during the Session, he hammers at the Constitution, and with the same effect in both instances.

Towards the close of 1883, the subject of the Housing of the Poor became the question of the hour. Lord Shaftesbury was urged to take part in the discussion, his wide experience, ranging over upwards of forty years, placing him as one of the first authorities on the subject. He contributed an article to the *Pall Mall Gazette* and another to the *Nineteenth Century*.

Nov. 5th.—A few days after my promise to do so, a letter from my old friend, Edwin Arnold, editor of the *Daily Telegraph*, to same effect; sorry to be obliged to answer that 'I was engaged.' Forty-one years ago I started the question, and my small Society built my model-houses; but all that is now forgotten. Others have come forward and have effaced the memory of the first movers.

But this is the natural and necessary issue of all such efforts; the last who come are the first served.

We do not quote from these articles because we have already given, at some length, Lord Shaftesbury's views on the Housing of the Poor. In reviewing what had been done in the past, and the difficulties that beset the question in the present, he expressed his hope of a satisfactory issue, and his belief that it was a question capable of solution. He strongly deprecated any effort, Governmental or otherwise, that should destroy the moral energy of the people by pauperising them. He held that the State was bound to give every facility by law and by enabling statutes, but that the enterprise should be founded on voluntary effort, for which there was in the country abundant wealth, zeal, and intelli-

gence. He suggested that the work should be accomplished by a Central Committee in London; with Branch Committees in different districts; that a public appeal should be made for funds; that fresh legislation should be obtained if necessary; that the powers already provided by existing statutes should be put into full force; and that all tenements should be under police inspection. Should a low class still remain unprovided for, the State might step in and supply houses at eleemosynary rates.

In the following year, the Housing of the Poor was still the leading social subject, and a Royal Commission was appointed, on which the Prince of Wales was one of the most active members. The investigations of the Commissioners culminated in Lord Salisbury's Act of 1885—the Housing of the Working Classes Act.

When Lord Salisbury brought forward his motion, on the 22nd of February, 1885, for the appointment of a Commission, Lord Shaftesbury supported it in an able speech, which, as he records, was "received with singular attention, much cheering, and abundant congratulations." When the Commission sat, he was the first witness examined, and although at his time of life, and in his state of health, he "dreaded being summoned before such a tribunal," lest his memory should fail in points of detail, and he should be unable to do justice to the cause he had so much at heart, his evidence was a masterpiece of exhaustive argument, enriched by the experience of sixty years' earnest consideration of the subject. It was invaluable to the Commissioners to

have, at the outset of their inquiry, the aid of "the first living authority on the Housing of the Poor."

In due course the Report of the Commissioners was published; and therein (for we cannot refer further to the subject) the reader may find, in the evidence of Lord Shaftesbury, a concise description of the state of the dwellings of the poor more than half a century ago, and the various steps that had been taken, chiefly at his instigation, to roll away the reproach caused by the existence of such hotbeds of vice and disease in the heart of the most civilised city in the world. And that Report also furnishes a full insight into the estimation in which Lord Shaftesbury's labours were held.

It was a cause of no little rejoicing to him, that at last the problem involved in this great question was approaching its conclusion; that Lord Salisbury's Act was founded in great measure upon his own "Labouring Classes Tenements Houses Act," and that his labours, as the pioneer and chief mover in every effort up to that time, were cordially and gratefully recognised.

Many honours were publicly accorded to Lord Shaftesbury in these closing years of his life. On the 5th of March a banquet was given at the Mansion House, at which he was the guest of the evening. It was a splendid ovation, 300 persons, representing all the great social, religious, and political interests, responding to the invitation. On the 15th of May, a banquet was given to him in Salters' Hall on the occasion of his being admitted to the Company, and on the 26th of June, amid much pomp and circumstance, he received,

somewhat tardily, the Freedom of the City of London. In acknowledging the honour he said, that if he could not add any lustre to the citizenship, the time for him was so short that there would be little opportunity for him to tarnish it, and added that, if any one should ever undertake the task of writing his biography, he begged him to "have the goodness to record that he died a citizen of London."

To many who read these pages, there will be a special interest attaching to the utterances of Lord Shaftesbury at the public gatherings of this and the following year. If reference is only made to a few of the more conspicuous ones, it is because they were almost innumerable.

April 1st.—Journey to Brighton to-morrow, and a speech at opening of the Young Men's Christian Association.

April 3rd.—Returned last night. Went in company with that dear man George Williams, and came back with him. He insisted on my accepting a saloon carriage. A day of pressure, but, I hope, nay, I believe, of success. Arrived at one. Necessary gossip till 2.30. Then a luncheon in state at the Pavilion. Two hundred guests and speeches. Then a pause, without repose, till five, at which hour ceremonial of declaring house open; hymn, prayer, Bible reading, and a few oratorical sentences from myself. At quarter to six to Mr. Barclay's for dinner at half-past six. Half-an hour's repose. Then to grand meeting under the dome at eight o'clock, where, being under the necessity of catching train at 8.40, I began without the ordinary preliminaries. Even then was stopped in midst by announcement, 'Time is up; you must go.' So I left out much that was individual and important and dashed to the conclusion! . . . This valuable institution, set for the glory of God and the good of man, has been opened with many signs of grace and acceptance.

April 28th.—My birthday, and I have now struck the figure of *eighty-three*. It is wonderful, it is miraculous, with my infirmities, and even sufferings, of body, with sensible decline of mental appli-

cation and vigour, I yet retain, by God's mercy, some power to think and to act. May He grant, for Christ's sake, that, to my last hour, I may be engaged in His service, and in the full knowledge of all that is around and before me! Cobden used to say of D'Israeli—I have heard him more than once—'What a retrospect that man will have!' Retrospects must be terrible to every one who measures and estimates his hopes by the discharge of his duties here on earth. Unless he be overwhelmed with self-righteousness, he must see that, when weighed in the balance, he will be found wanting. But what are the prospects? They may be bright, joyous, certain, in the faith and fear of the Lord Jesus.

May 3rd.—Yesterday, headed a deputation to the magnates of the Great Northern Railway to beseech them so to arrange their trains and the third-class return tickets, that the working people might go easily and cheaply to the suburban villages prepared for them!

May 8th.—Yesterday chair of Bible Society. Then uncovering of Tyndale's statue on Embankment, and dinner with Mr. Alcroft, to meet the speakers at the meeting and committee. Grand announcement at the meeting that a penny edition of the New Testament, in a legible type and a double form, was to be forthwith issued. What a work! What an enterprise! What a prospect! England shall be filled with the knowledge of the Word of God as the waters cover the sea!

May 10th.—Yesterday chair of Jews Society. Then to Mansion House in aid of Mrs. Meredith's Home, and afterwards to House of Lords to support Bill for prohibition of the pigeon-abomination—beaten by 78 to 48!

May 17th.—Another burden off my mind. Jubilee London City Mission meeting over. Made the opening speech, twenty minutes long!

May 22nd.—It is over. The Wycliffe Commemoration is over, God be praised. The meeting in the large room of Exeter Hall was small, but cordial. The speeches were good, but confined—a great mistake—to clergy or dissenting ministers. On all such occasions the laity should predominate!

So the record continues; day by day full of arduous and exciting work, and, in the intervals, of nervous

depression and great physical suffering. Nothing grieved him more than having to break an engagement, and many times, in direct opposition to the advice of his medical men, he preferred to take the chance of breaking down than of disappointing his friends. He was specially anxious to keep "body and mind from falling to pieces" as the 19th of June drew near, it having been a long-standing promise to his friend Mr. Spurgeon, whose fiftieth birthday was to be celebrated on that day, to be present if possible. In April Mr. Spurgeon had written to him.

The Rev. C. H. Spurgeon to Lord Shaftesbury.

WESTWOOD, BEULAH HILL, UPPER NORWOOD,

April 11th, 1884.

DEAR FRIEND,—You are a little in a fog, April 23rd is the College Supper. My *fiftieth birthday is June 19th.* If we are spared till then, will you take the chair? You shall be allowed to go in one hour if you feel at all tired. In fact I will provide another chairman, and announce him, so that you may retire without any fuss. You know how I love and revere you. It would do you good to come down here oftener in the warm weather. You are a truly wonderful man to work as you do, but I do not like to see you worried, and I fear you are at times. You have earned a Sabbatical rest, and I do not wish you even to come to my Jubilee if it becomes a work for you. I should like you to come, because I want *old-fashioned Evangelical doctrine* to be identified with the event. I am a fair representative of the old faith, even as you are, and I shall ask only men of our own order of belief, so far as I can be sure of anybody.

I value your £5 more than £5,000 from some. My dear elder brother, the Lord be thy help and thy joy.

Your true admirer,

C. H. SPURGEON.

Many a man, and many a minister, will remember the words of counsel and wisdom spoken by the aged peer on that occasion. Strange to say, his speech almost gave satisfaction to himself.

June 20th.—Yesterday to Metropolitan Tabernacle, to preside over grand meeting in honour of Spurgeon's fiftieth birthday. A wonderful sight, nearly, if not quite, seven thousand adult, enthusiastic souls, crammed even to suffocation by way of audience. Felt, at first, quite appalled. Had to make opening speech. Here, again, a '*non nobis*' must be 'said or sung.' By the blessing of our Lord, I was, as every one said, equal to the occasion.

Canon Wilberforce observed, 'You ought to bless God for having enabled you to make such a speech.' And so I did, and so I do, and so I will.

In August, Lord Shaftesbury paid his final visit to Scotland, in full hope that he might recover "some, if not all, his strength." But it was a season of great weariness and depression. He succeeded in reaching Edinburgh, and then proceeded to North Berwick, but was unable to pay another visit to his old Scotch "home" at Castle Wemyss. In some respects the change did him good, but it was manifest that the strength he hoped to regain could last but a little while. "I cannot fix my mind steadfastly on anything," he writes, "but I feel improvement, and wait God's goodness in faith and fear." Towards the end of September, he was once more a guest at Inverary. "Found the people as ever true, kind, amiable, loving, and beloved." But it was a time of great trial—a time, as he says, of "pain, depression, faintness, and feeling as if I were falling to pieces. Scarcely strong

enough to write a letter. Great exertion to make this entry."

There is no further entry in the Diary until the end of October, when he was again in London.

The following characteristic letter, written after the commencement of what proved to be his last illness, refers, in the first instance, to a tract forwarded to him by Canon Wilberforce. The second portion of the letter refers to a public meeting on behalf of the Young Men's Christian Association at Southampton, over which Lord Shaftesbury had promised to preside, his place upon the occasion being filled by Lord Mount-Temple. Canon Wilberforce, in the course of his speech at this meeting, pointed out that Lord Shaftesbury had solved, by his life of devotion to the interests of others, a problem, somewhat freely discussed at the time, namely, "What was the value to the nation of an hereditary aristocracy?" Manifestly, it was of the greatest advantage that there should be a class of men in the nation, lifted, by virtue of their birth and position, above the fear, favour, or prejudice of their fellows, who should be ever ready to take their places by the side of the working classes in all times of oppression, tyranny, and wrong. Such a life, pre-eminently, had Lord Shaftesbury's been; throughout it he had realised that his position was a talent entrusted to him for the advantage of others, and wherever men, women, or children of the working classes were suffering wrong, they had found in him a courageous, determined champion :—

Lord Shaftesbury to Canon Basil Wilberforce.

ST. GILES'S HOUSE,

Nov. 10, 1884.

DEAR CANON WILBERFORCE,—Your little tract is the very thing for my small, sorrowing, abject children in the Ragged Schools. I shall sow it broadcast. What is wanted, and when obtained, relished by all that class, and especially these poor dear creatures, is the notion and feeling of a personal Saviour, of one who can understand them, enter into all their sorrows, be, as it were, near them, almost sensible, almost visible. Make religion *cosy* and comfortable to them, and thousands will accept and embrace it.

I am deeply obliged by your kind and most friendly mention of me at the Southampton meeting. I intensely regretted, and I continue to regret, the necessity of my absence. I could not have attended it. I had not then, nor have I now, physical and moral power for such a duty. I am somewhat better, no doubt, God be praised, as to pain, but, as to lassitude and nervous affection of the head, I am reduced nearly to incapacity.

In your speech, you seem to have fathomed my very thoughts and known my intentions. I undertook the movements of my public life on this ground, and such was my belief then, now confirmed, though fifty years ago, of the highest duty; but I had, I confess it, a secondary object; a desire to show that independence in position and fortune, possessing, as they do, social privileges, bring with them corresponding Christian obligations. And I remember saying, at a very early period, to my bitter opponents, 'I am not much more than thirty years of age; I may, by God's blessing, live to seventy, but of this you may be sure, that, under His mercy, I will not desist from my efforts until they shall be closed either by death or by success.' Of course I had much to go through in private and in public. Not at my own domestic hearth, for I had, as you have, a blessed wife, who exhorted me to the work; and, as for successive Governments, there was not one, excepting Lord J. Russell's, which did not endeavour, by every form of argument, to entrap me into office.

Here is a short notice of myself, which I refer to only as exhibiting, to my great comfort, your true and sagacious judgment.

My life is now drawing to a close. My days may be, perhaps, somewhat prolonged, but my working days, I fear, are over. Take no notice of this letter. You have other things to do. If we ever meet again we will discuss all such matters, but not on paper. May I say to you, as a spiritual friend, that I very sincerely and conscientiously declare, that in my long career my highest consolation has been to know that I was the servant of our Lord, and my highest honour that I was believed to be such.

May He prosper you in all your efforts for His kingdom and glory.

Yours most truly,

SHAFTESBURY.

It was not unusual for Lord Shaftesbury, when forecasting events, to go so far as to fix a probable date for their accomplishment. The last entry in his Diary for 1884, relating to political events, is an illustration:—

Nov. 24th.—In a year or so we shall have 'Home Rule' disposed of (at all hazards), to save us from daily and hourly bores.

In 1885, the political references are few, but they are as keen, sharp, and incisive as in the days of his youth.

Feb. 25th.—Can never understand 'Conservative Policy.' Sir S. Northcote moved a vote of censure in House of Commons, which is *milk and water*. Simultaneously, Lord Salisbury moves one in House of Lords, which is all of it '*gin and bitters*.'

Feb. 28th.—Government, last night, defeated vote of censure by a majority of fourteen only! Will Gladstone resign? If so, who will come in? Salisbury has openly announced that he is ready to assume the duties and responsibilities of administration! Well, how long would he hold them? Ay, and how would he use them? I have heard it said that the Conservatives are prepared to go beyond Gladstone in Radicalism, and ruin the country themselves, rather than let it be ruined by Gladstone. But the Conservatives have carried the position by storm, it was not forced upon them; they

have assaulted and taken it! It is an evil state of things. The Conservatives will come into power, not because the country at large has the smallest respect for them, morally or politically, but because, for the moment, their adversaries stand a little lower in those aspects than they do.

The last reference in the Diary to politics, is on the 9th of June, but a few weeks before he left London, never to return. It is a remarkable passage, inasmuch as there is in it the spirit that characterised all his public career, a spirit directly in antagonism to that which, to his grief, he saw was making fearful encroachments on public morality.

June 9th.—Have just seen defeat of Government on the Budget by Conservatives and Parnellites united; an act of folly amounting to wickedness. God is not in all their thoughts, nor the country either. All seek their own, and their own is party-spirit, momentary triumph, political hatred, and the indulgence of low, personal, and unpatriotic passion.

With the particular event to which the foregoing extract refers, we have nothing to do here. But we cannot proceed without calling attention to this fact, namely, that from the year 1826 when, as Lord Ashley, he entered Parliament, until these last days of his long career, he never ceased to protest against the evils of political party-spirit; of being one thing in Government and another in Opposition; of sacrificing personal truth and righteousness for political triumphs. He never ceased to inculcate this great moral lesson — never more needed than in the present day—that public life should be not less based on principle than private

life. If he had taught the world no other lesson, his life would not have been lived in vain.

It has been said, in the course of this narrative, that one of the most striking characteristics of Lord Shaftesbury was the unchangeableness of his opinions, and that a page might be taken from any of his Diaries, at any time, to illustrate any principle he advocated. As an example, we quote in this place an extract from a manuscript book written in 1847, from which it will be seen that on this question of public and private morality, there had, in the space of forty years, been no shadow of turning in his views:—

The world has drawn a distinction (though I know not by what right or on what ground) between the principles which regulate our public, and those which regulate our private life. A man, it seems by their admissions, may be treacherous politically, and yet faithful socially; selfish, ambitious, and dishonest towards the State, and yet disinterested, moderate, and upright towards his friends. Undoubtedly for this there is no sanction in the Divine law; and it is difficult to ascertain the precise fallacy by which it is permitted in the human.

Assuredly the Almighty gave us a different rule when he said (Gen. xviii. 17, &c.) 'Shall I hide from Abraham that thing which I do? for I know him, that he will command his children and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment; that the Lord may bring upon Abraham that which he hath spoken of him.' Here the private excellence of the Patriarch is taken by the Almighty as the ground of a public trust, of the revelation of the future, the skilful conjecture of which is regarded among men as political wisdom. The good rule of a family is held to be an earnest of the good rule of a State; and God then invested him with power and wealth and command, and great responsibility.

We, however, while we affix a stain to moral turpitude, only censure or rebuke political dishonour (and it is a great thing if we

do even that). The most fiery votaries of the 'code of honour,' however jealous and ready and sensitive on all occasions, are amply satisfied when, after some charge or reflection on their characters, they receive an assurance that the remark was not *personal*. 'I spoke *politically*,' says the explainant, and then all goes well! Now wherefore?—no, I see the wherefore, but, by what authority, do they make such distinctions? Do selfishness, truth, honour, ambition, pride, and disinterestedness change their nature; or do we change our language on them? Are the vices and the virtues of the human mind less so when they concern the universal interests of a people than when applied to affairs of a family or a circle? Do the principles of morality in a public business flow from a different source and into another receptacle? Were the law of Mount Sinai and the sermons of our Saviour, for the instruction of householders and private persons only, the rule of public life being left to arbitrary deduction and single interpretation? No, as surely as there is but 'one Lord, one faith, one baptism,' so is there for the government of our actions but one truth, one law, and one responsibility.

In April, 1884, chiefly in consequence of certain notorious trials, in which it was alleged that there were still defects and abuses in the administration of the Lunacy Laws, a motion was made in the House of Lords by Lord Milltown for an inquiry into the whole question. This was a source of great anxiety to Lord Shaftesbury. Although "he had everything on his side but self-confidence in his own power to meet the charge," and was satisfied that "the defence would be perfect in any other hands," he dreaded, naturally enough, his ability to vindicate the Commissioners in Lunacy, fearing lest his memory and strength should fail him. Very pathetic are the outpourings of his heart as he contemplates the possibility of "the labour, the toils, the anxieties, the prayers of more than fifty

years being in one moment brought to naught," and cries, "Cast me not off in the time of old age; forsake me not, O Lord, when my strength faileth." He felt that God had "manifestly blessed the efforts of this Commission," and it was a grievous disappointment to him when Lord Milltown's motion was carried.

This led to the introduction, in 1885, of the Lord Chancellor's (Selborne) Lunacy Amendment Bill, and from the moment when, in the midst of great bodily and mental suffering, Lord Shaftesbury was summoned to London to consider it, until the last day of his life, it was the source of almost constant anxiety. It involved a long correspondence with the Lord Chancellor on certain provisions of the Bill which Lord Shaftesbury so strongly disapproved, that he felt compelled to tender his resignation of the office of Chairman of the Board of Commissioners in Lunacy. His reasons were these :—

May 5th.—My conclusions were—I could not go down to the Lords and sit through the passing of such a measure, and be thus a party to its enactment; I could not, while holding an office under the Chancellor, oppose him by speech and division. He offered me permission to do so, but he knew, as well as I did, the indecency of such a course.

The anxiety and suspense, the regret and disappointment experienced by Lord Shaftesbury while the Lord Chancellor persevered with his Bill, in spite of the remonstrances based upon an experience of nearly sixty years, greatly embittered his last days. In June, however, the Bill was shelved; Lord Shaftesbury consented to resume his office, and so it came to pass that his

connection with the Lunacy Commission from its foundation, was practically unbroken.

It is seldom that an evil is unmitigated, and it was not so in this case. The anxieties with which he was surrounded called forth, in even larger measure, the support of his friends. Among those whose cordial sympathy on this and similar occasions, the Diaries recognise, was Miss Marsh, the biographer of her revered father, the Rev. Dr. Marsh, of Captain Hedley Vicars, and others, but even better known, perhaps, in connection with early pioneer work among the navvies who built the Crystal Palace, as the author of "English Hearts and English Hands." Frequently in the Diaries there are records of this friendship—such as these :—

Aug. 20th, 1880.—On the 18th ran down for the day to Feltwell Rectory in Norfolk to see Miss Marsh and the O'Rorkes'. A pleasant time; had, what I ever desire but seldom get, some sympathetic talk, some talk of this world, some of the next.

Feb. 2nd, 1884.—St. Giles's. Miss Marsh and the O'Rorkes gone to-day. It is a comfort to have such true and profound sympathisers with me in so many good things.

For Mr. Weylland, of the London City Mission,* Lord Shaftesbury entertained no ordinary regard. The following note—the first in the Diary for the year—tells its own story :—

Jan. 2nd, 1885.—A letter yesterday from Weylland. It filled me at the moment with terror and gratitude; terror, that he had been so ill, and gratitude to God, who had given him good hopes of recovery. No language of mine could convey a notion of the loss to

* Author of "These Fifty Years," and many other works, to most, if not to all of which, Lord Shaftesbury wrote the preface.

myself and (more than that) to the Christian community, that would result from his removal. O Lord, forbid it.

Happily, Mr. Weylland's life was spared, and it was his privilege to give important assistance to Lord Shaftesbury in a labour that occupied much of his last working days. For many years he had been made the recipient of large sums of money, to be devoted in whatever manner he pleased, for the welfare of the poor. One lady, Miss Portal, had given him year after year a cheque for a thousand pounds to be thus applied; frequently large sums were sent to him anonymously. On one occasion, a gentleman, who was just leaving the country probably never to return, called at his house and placed in his hands a note for £500, begging him to use it for "Ragged Schools and other things," his only other request being that nothing save the initials "T. H." should appear in connection with the gift. In April, 1885, a lady, Mrs. Douglas, died; but it was not until the 9th of June that Lord Shaftesbury received the astounding intelligence that in her will she had left to him, for distribution among the charities of London, the sum of £60,000! The toil and anxiety entailed by this bequest can only be understood by those who knew how scrupulously conscientious and exact Lord Shaftesbury was in dealing with every farthing of money of which he was the trustee. In this distribution, Mr. Weylland gave invaluable assistance, and made possible a task which Lord Shaftesbury could not have performed alone. From a special note-book —written in a firm, bold, clear hand, although his

eighty-fifth year had begun—the following passages will be read with interest:—

July 4th.—First, I determined to keep the distribution of the fund or residue within London and the immediate vicinity. To go beyond that limit would have involved me in grants to every town in England; if to Birmingham, for instance, why not to Manchester, &c. &c. ?

Next, to receive all applications, but to answer none of them. The labour would be intolerable; resolved to take, privately, the best advice and act for myself.

Next, to make no grants purely religious. It would not be right to make it a Church affair alone; and to assign portions to the various denominations of Dissenters, whose name is legion, would be impossible.

To be more precise and careful in the distribution of *entrusted* money (for such is this) than I would be in my own. I have (though absolute power is given me) to bear and exercise a certain responsibility. The public will certainly, without any right, criticise severely all my decisions.

In the midst of London misery and want, a demand is made for assistance to the Young Men's Christian Associations and similar institutions. Grants to them would take about half the residue, and leave many, though small, yet most valuable institutions, hampered and nearly without any aid whatever. Have power to assist such, no doubt, but their admission would involve the admission of many more, such as the Victoria Institute, and the like, and the poor would be left out in the cold.

To avoid all controversial matter, send no grants to Anti-Vivisection Societies and Homœopathic Hospitals and Working Men's Lord's Day Association. I have no notion of the lady's opinion on these subjects, and I desire to avoid, as well as I can, doing anything that she might not have approved.

To keep as closely as possible to those associations connected with charity.

To omit all the Missionary Societies—they are able to take care of themselves: to include them would take up nearly one-half of the legacy, and very little would be left for the English poor.

One last effort for securing inviolate the sanctity of the Sabbath Day, Lord Shaftesbury determined he would make, if it came within the range of possibility; and when Lord Thurlow gave notice, in March, of a motion in favour of opening the Natural History Museum, at South Kensington, on Sunday afternoons, Lord Shaftesbury at once made up his mind to move an amendment. But, as the time drew near, his health was in such a state, that he was "nervous, depressed, distrustful of the possession of power enough to encounter him," and, with great reluctance, he was obliged to abandon the hope of moving the amendment. Earl Cairns, however, came to the rescue, and, in an able and eloquent speech, performed the duty for him. It was the last speech that eminent politician, and still more eminent lawyer, ever made in the House of Lords. A few weeks later, he was numbered with the dead, while Lord Shaftesbury, more than twenty years his senior, survived to do honour to the "great man" departed, holding up his Christian character for the imitation of all young men, at the opening of a Memorial Institute at Bournemouth, at which Lord Shaftesbury presided.

Among the many engagements which he had to forego during this year, was the occupancy of the chair at the Parkes Museum of Hygiene, on the occasion of an address, by Sir Spencer Wells, on Cremation. In a letter expressing regret at being unable to attend, the following passage occurs:—

There is another argument, urged on religious grounds, that it

(cremation) will annihilate all hope of a resurrection. I have never heard the question discussed theologically, but surely it may be met by the interrogation, what, then, will become of the thousands of blessed martyrs who have died at the stake in ancient and modern persecutions?

On the 28th of April, Lord Shaftesbury celebrated his eighty-fourth birthday. Two pleasant episodes marked the season; they are thus referred to in the Diary:—

April 24th.—On Monday evening, 20th, received a letter from Joseph Hoare (not the banker), enclosing a draft for £4,500, the contributions of himself, and eleven others, for the honour of my approaching birthday, and praying me to accept it for the relief of my pressing necessities in any way I thought best. The letter was a model of kindness, good feeling, and good taste.

April 28th.—My birthday—this day I am eighty-four! God be merciful to me a sinner. A most terrible day to me for pain and irritation. But got, the Lord be praised, a birthday present. Some ladies, knowing how this Jewish affair* pressed upon my mind, collected £640 to clear off the incumbrances and difficulties that arose from our Cyprus-colonisation, and presented it to me at Lady Eastlake's, whither I had strength to go to receive it. The Lord be praised, and may His blessing descend on the contributors.

The month of May was at hand, the month during which Lord Shaftesbury, more often than any man in England, or any dozen men put together, had stood in the forefront of every religious and philanthropic movement. But his strength was failing, and though he had a spirit as willing to take up the work

* After the persecutions of the Jews in Russia, many fled to England. Lord Shaftesbury joined with others in helping them in their destitution by trying to found a colony in Palestine. When that failed, they obtained permission to land and settle them in Cyprus. But their maintenance cost a good deal of money and much anxiety to the promoters, of whom Lord Shaftesbury, as President, had the most responsibility.

as in days of old, and speak on behalf of every Society, the flesh was weak, and it became daily more imperative that he should husband the little strength that remained.

A painful interest attaches to the visits made by him in this year to his old haunts and his old friends. Mr. George Holland writes:—

"I shall never forget his last visit; he went the round of the rooms, interested in the poor children and people as much as ever, speaking tenderly and sympathisingly to sorrowing ones, and telling them of Jesus, an unchanging friend, an ever-present Saviour. . . . . Then he said, 'I don't think I shall ever see you in the flesh again in this place. I am ill, and at my time of life I cannot expect to be long here.' Pulling his coat sleeve tightly over his arm, he said, 'Look how I have fallen away. If I should be laid quite aside, if I send to you, you will come to me?' I replied, 'I will come at any hour whenever you may send for me.' Then he said, 'What a comfort it is to know Christ as a personal Saviour;' and, after a pause, he added, 'My Saviour.'"

It was his very earnest desire that he might be able to preside at one or two of the great representative meetings, and especially that of the Bible Society. "I am living and praying in hopes of being able to take the chair of the Bible Society," he wrote, on the day before the meeting. "Were I as well to-day as yesterday, could have done it comfortably, but to-day is very trying, very doubtful, and the like to-morrow would make the

moments very hazardous." How hazardous may be gathered from the fact that, though late in the afternoon of that day, when the writer called upon him and asked how he felt, he answered briskly, drawing himself up and throwing open his chest, "Feel? I feel at the present moment as if I could fight the Devil and all his angels!" yet, half an hour afterwards, the old haggard look had returned, the form was bent, and it was with difficulty he could retire to his couch. It seemed utterly impossible that he could brave the fatigue and excitement of such an ovation as awaited him on the following day; nevertheless, he was there.

May 6th.—Well, positively, though things were menacing, dared to go to Exeter Hall, at eleven o'clock, and take chair of Bible Society. Quite safe; no mischief; stayed there till half-past one, and came away rejoicing. I bless Thee, O Lord, I bless Thee.

May 7th.—This morning, suddenly struck down by return of malady of two months ago. Can see no cause, no reason whatever. It is heart-breaking, sad, but God's will be done!

May 13th.—Got to Miss Haldane's Drawing-room Meeting for Eastern Female Education,* spent an hour and a half; none the worse, perhaps the better. Thank God, I say, that I got there—delighted, nay, more than delighted, to be in the house of my departed and valued friend, and testify to the enormous importance to me of his counsel, wisdom, and understanding, and friendship of thirty years.

May 19th.—Ragged School Union *to do me honour* to-night! Shall I be able to go for an hour only? God in His mercy grant it!

May 20th.—'Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me, bless His holy name.' Got through it, well, happily, easily, not tired, not agitated, not alarmed. And, to day, so far from being worse, am certainly the better for the exertion.

* The Society for Promoting Female Education in the East.

Four o'clock.—Another mercy: have been able to go to Grosvenor House, and speak on behalf of Ragged Schools.

On the 22nd of May he reached St. Giles's, and on the following Sunday attended the little church he loved so well, read the lessons, and received the Communion there for the last time. On the 4th of June he returned to London in an invalid carriage, and on the following evening, "took chair in Exeter Hall of Williams' Refuge, quite safe and happy." A few days later, "essayed to go to Grosvenor House, but turned back (feeling so ill) when near the door." It was a great joy to him that, on the 24th of June, he was able to get to the tea and meeting of the Flower Girls' Mission without harm; "deep, deep disappointment had I not gone there, for my interest in their welfare is very warm." One cause of deep regret was: "obliged to send excuse to my Costermongers—was very severely depressed."

July 10th.—On Wednesday to Joseph Hoare's, at Hampstead, to meet London City Missionaries—thankful, very thankful that I was able to go. On Thursday, to Dean's Yard, Westminster, to distribute flower prizes; and to-day, to Mansion House, for first Anniversary of a Society for protection of children against cruelty. What a succession of mercies!

The last working days of Lord Shaftesbury, were spent in labour and prayer for young children. In a London evening paper there had appeared a series of terrible articles purporting to give an exact account of horrible cruelties and shameful wrongs perpetrated on young and innocent girls. For years past the subject,

in one form and another, had been laid upon his heart, and had cost him many days and nights of anxious thought. Thus, on July the 30th, 1880, he had supported "a strong Bill, almost a fearful Bill, and capable, no doubt, of enormous abuse," to prohibit little girls under fourteen from living in houses of ill-fame. In 1881, he was actively engaged in dealing with "an abomination, one beyond the power of description for atrocity, or of sentiment to feel it—the trade with Brussels in English and Irish girls." In 1883, he spoke in the House of Lords on the Bill for Protection of Young Girls, "from the organised habitual conspiracy, so to speak, against them by the men who nightly watch the factories and workshops, and lay their snares for the poor young things as they return home long after dark." Later in the same year, he was "defeated upon an amendment to protect helpless women and defenceless girls from insults and dangers in the streets." Again, in 1884, he made a speech at the Mansion House "in aid of a new society for protection of children against cruelty."

When the latest phase of the subject was revealed, he was almost heart-broken that he had not strength to stand forth as the champion of these poor children. It was not long before, that in conversation with a friend, he had said: "When I feel age creeping on me and know I must soon die—I hope it is not wrong to say it—but *I cannot bear to leave the world with all the misery in it.*"

But the set time had come. A troublesome com-

plaint, which had produced great weakness, made rest and change of air indispensable, and towards the end of July he left London for ever.

The following are the final entries in the Diary :—

July 25th.—No entries—great anxiety of state of health. In some instances dejection terrible, overwhelmed by anxiety and labour on the matter of this Lunacy business, which, coming on me in midst of this horrible depression, was almost too much for me. Got through it at last, by God's mercy and goodness. Went to Home Office to see Cross on those fearful revelations in *Pall Mall Gazette;* out last night to House of Lords, for half an hour, to see Salisbury on the same subject. Last night very good, and this morning things look well. We propose, God willing, to go to Folkestone to-day. Oh, may the air of the place be blessed to my recovery !

July 28th.—Folkestone, 12, Clifton Gardens. Arrived here on Saturday, 25th. Most favourable journey, God be praised. Sunday : the heat excessive, strong wind from east ; suffered terribly the whole day ; depression extreme. To-day, somewhat better. I am very thankful for it. Now I suffer from cold, so changeable is the weather——

At first, it seemed as if a reasonable hope might be entertained that his life would be spared for some years to come. For a fortnight after his arrival, he was able to get out in a bath chair, but his increasing weakness, first of all evidenced by a heavy fall in his room while crossing it, compelled him to remain much indoors. With the least sign, however, of returning health came returning energy, and he had been so long accustomed to running risks from exposure, that he did not pay sufficient heed to the changes of the weather, which, in the autumn of this year, were sudden and treacherous. He took a chill, which brought on in-

flammation of the left lung. Then it became morally certain that the end was not far off.

Free from great distressing pain; with consciousness perfectly clear, surrounded by his sons and daughters, whom he loved with an untold and untellable love; undisturbed by any fear of death, unshaken in faith, and in full assurance of hope, he calmly waited the end.

In a cheerful room on the ground floor, looking out on a pleasant lawn, shaded with trees, and with the great wide sea beyond it, the small bed he had brought with him was placed, and here his last days were spent. He could step from his room to the balcony and drink in the life-giving air which he so much enjoyed, and on bright days could look across the sea to the white cliffs of sunny France. Very solemn and very beautiful was the calm of the evening tide, and very sacred was that chamber, in which the prayer was constantly breathed, "Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly."

During the interval which elapsed, he used to ask his daughters and his valet—whichever happened to be present—to read to him portions of the Bible he named to them. Every morning he begged that the twenty-third Psalm—that short cry of hope, beginning, "The Lord is my Shepherd: I shall not want"—might be read to him.

He was to the last very anxious that the letters which still came to him should be answered, and he used to dictate to his daughter, Lady Templemore, the replies he wished to be sent.

The very last matter of actual business which he attended to, was the filling up of the living of Shaftesbury (of which he was patron), and much care and thought were bestowed by him on the appointment.

One natural source of regret, and the only earthly matter which seemed to trouble him, was that he should die away from home: "in a lodging-house," as he termed it. Had it been possible, he would have cheerfully borne the discomfort of removal, in order that he might pass away in the midst of his own people in the ancestral home he loved so well, made sacred by so many associations. But this wish could not be gratified; the sickness had taken too strong a hold upon him. It was, however, a source of gratification for him to know that his last wishes would be faithfully respected, and that his remains would rest at St. Giles's, beside those of his beloved wife and daughters, in the burial-place of his fathers.

When a letter from the Dean of Westminster was read to him, in which a resting-place in Westminster Abbey was proposed, he said, in a low but firm voice, "No—St. Giles's—St. Giles's!"

In the sacred chamber where he lay, fully conscious that the end was near, one of his sons, come from Switzerland, where he was tending a loved one in her sickness to whom he had to return, knelt before him at his bidding, and received his parting blessing, as the old patriarch laid his hand upon his head, bade him "good-bye," and breathed a prayer; there other of his sons and daughters saw, day by day, the beauty of

holiness, the grandeur of the triumph of faith. There one who came to bid him farewell, heard words like these: "I am in the hands of God; the ever-blessed Jehovah; in His hands alone. Yes, in His keeping, with Him alone."

Then came a day, the first day of October, when the sun was shining in meridian splendour, flooding his chamber with the light he loved so well. His faithful valet, Goldsmith, handed him something, which he received with the words, "Thank you." These were his last words. And then, a few minutes later, fully conscious to the last moment, he passed, without pain or sigh or struggle, into the ineffable light.

A week later, a plain closed hearse, devoid of all the shows of grief, moved away from the door of his house in Grosvenor Square, followed by five mourning coaches and a few private carriages and hack cabs—as simple a funeral procession as ever marked the public obsequies of a great man. It needed not the pomp of any earthly pageant to do him honour. Flowers—sent by poor and rich alike, completely filling the large room from which the body had been removed—formed the only and the most fitting display. There were thousands assembled in Grosvenor Square, whose hearts were heavy, and whose eyes were red with weeping for the best friend the poor ever had, and thousands more were lining the streets through which the procession was to pass. It was touching to see the blinds drawn close in the club houses and mansions of St. James's Street and Pall Mall, but it was far more touching to see groups

upon groups of artisans, sempstresses, labourers, factory hands, flower girls—the poor and the destitute from all quarters of London—gathered there to pay their last mark of respect and affection. It was no crowding together of sight-seers. Even the poorest of the poor had managed to procure some little fragment of black to wear upon the coat sleeve or in the bonnet; the stillness was solemn and impressive; and as the simple procession passed, every head was uncovered, and bowed as with a personal sorrow. He had "clothed a people with spontaneous mourning, and was going down to the grave amid the benedictions of the poor."

As the funeral *cortége* passed into Parliament Street, a sight was seen which will never be forgotten while this generation lasts. Grouped on the east, or river side of the street, were deputations from the Homes and Refuges and Training-ships, from the Costermongers' Society, from Missions and Charities, each with their craped banners, emblazoned with such words as these: "Naked and ye clothed Me," "A stranger and ye took Me in." Bands of music, playing "The Dead March" in *Saul*, were ranged at intervals, and, as the procession passed, these, heading the deputations, fell in, and marched towards the Abbey.

Rarely, if ever, had there been seen such a company assembled in Westminster Abbey as on that day. Royalty was represented; the Church, both Houses of Parliament, diplomacy, municipal power, society, were represented; but the real significance of that enormous gathering, filling every inch of space, lay in the spon-

taneous homage of the thousands of men and women representing all that was powerful for good in the whole land. The Abbey was full of mourners. Never before, in the memory of living men, had there been brought together, at one time, in one place, and with one accord, so many workers for the common good, impelled by a deep and tender sympathy in a common loss. For no other man in England, or in the world, could such an assembly have been gathered together.

While the coffin stood under the lantern of the church, buried beneath masses of exquisite wreaths—the offering of the Crown Princess of Germany resting beside the "Loving tribute from the Flower-girls of London," strong men wept, as they gazed on the sea of upturned faces, and every face bearing traces of sorrow.

At no moment was the solemnity deeper than when, after the grand old music of Purcell and Croft had ceased, and the sweet words of Christian joy, and the strong words of Christian confidence in the Burial Service had been uttered, that vast congregation joined in singing Charles Wesley's hymn—

> "Let all the saints terrestrial sing
> With those to glory gone,
> For all the servants of our King
> In earth and heaven are one."

Tears were in the trembling voices; and the faltering notes told how profound was the sorrow.

Then, when the Dean had pronounced the Benedic-

tion, the coffin was slowly borne away, to be taken to its final resting-place in St. Giles's Church.

As the hearse moved from the Abbey, the band of the Costermongers' Temperance Society playing the hymn, "Safe in the arms of Jesus," a poor labouring man, with tattered garments, but with a piece of crape sewed on to his sleeve, turned to one who stood beside him, and with a choking voice, said, "Our Earl's gone! God A'mighty knows he loved us, and we loved him. We shan't see his likes again!"

It was but one tribute of ten thousand paid that day to the friend of the poor.

Next day in the little church of St. Giles's, in the presence of sons and daughters and personal friends, the Dorset and Wiltshire tenantry, and the servants of the household, the "good Earl" was laid to rest in the ancestral burying-place, beside the faithful and loving wife and the gentle daughters he loved so tenderly.

Very touching and impressive was the singing of the final hymn that closed the simple service :—

"Now the labourer's task is o'er,
Now the battle-day is past;
Now upon the farther shore
Lands the voyager at last.
Father, in Thy gracious keeping
Leave we now Thy servant sleeping."

"My Lords," said the Duke of Argyll in a memorable speech in 1885, upon the political situation, "the

social reforms of the last century have not been mainly due to the Liberal party. They have been due mainly to the influence, character, and perseverance of one man —Lord Shaftesbury."

"That," said Lord Salisbury, in endorsing this eloquent tribute, "is, I believe, a very true representation of the facts." How true, this story of Lord Shaftesbury's life, as told in his Diaries, will to some extent prove.

It was a life for which the nation must ever remain grateful; a life which has left an indelible mark on the history of the country. He was the founder of a new order of men who, inspired by his example, and infected by his enthusiasm, followed and still follow in his footsteps. His life moved steadily along in one undeviating course, everything being brought into subjection to the self-imposed work he had undertaken, and nothing attempted but in an earnest and religious spirit. There was never any halting or hesitation in his opinions or purposes. Once satisfied that a cause needed help and that it filled a place unoccupied, he went "straight onward" with it, never turning to the right hand or the left. He was intensely practical, and above all things, an honest worker and a setter of others to work; he did not say to them "Go," but "Come with me," laying it down as a principle that abundant mutual intercourse is the very life of practical unity. Thus he became the ordained counsellor of others, the inspirer of their activity, their referee in every difficulty, the suggestor of new movements. He never stood aloof from any good work by

whomsoever proposed, nor from any fellow-worker, however humble; and he was as ready to lead an unpopular as a popular cause. A man of singular unselfishness, of rare determination, perseverance, and courage, with an unfailing perception of right and wrong, and a wise and far-reaching sagacity, he had one single aim and purpose—to do good. That undaunted courage, that burning zeal, that tender sympathy, all sprang from deep-rooted convictions of the duties and responsibilities of life as revealed in the Holy Scriptures. His name was the password of a cause among all the Christians of Europe; he inspired universal confidence by the purity of his personal character, the dignity of his bearing, the accuracy and accumulation of his knowledge; and he won affection everywhere by tones, by looks, by gestures; by little acts of kindness recurring daily and hourly. From first to last he was a reliable man; it was known where he was to be found, on every moral, social, and religious question, and that he could never be entrapped into the advocacy of anything that was not good, to gratify the claims of friends or the interests of party. His whole life was a call to others to stand fast, to quit themselves like men, and to be strong. He laid his hand on the heart of his country and caused it to beat with reviving life. "When the ear heard him it blessed him, and when the eye saw him it gave witness to him, because he delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless and him that had none to help him. The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon him, and he caused the widow's heart to sing for joy.

He was eyes to the blind and feet was he to the lame. He was a father to the poor."

His work lives on in its fruits, and it will live for ever, and he, being dead, yet speaks in lives inspired by his example, and made bright and beautiful and useful and happy by his toil. A whole generation of children has risen up to call him blessed, and a generation is rising, among whom, influenced by his life, will be found many to adopt, as the motto of their lives, the motto of his family—

LOVE, SERVE.

APPENDIX.

THE following is a list of Religious and Philanthropic Institutions represented by Deputations at the Memorial Service, in Westminster Abbey, on Thursday, October 8th, 1885, with all of which Lord Shaftesbury was more or less directly connected.

PALL BEARERS.

JOHN MACGREGOR,
British and Foreign Bible Society.
Shoeblacks' Brigades.

H. R. WILLIAMS,
Religious Tract Society.
King Edward Industrial Schools.

GEORGE WILLIAMS,
Young Men's Christian Associations.

W. J. ORSMAN,
Costermongers' Mission.

JOSEPH G. GENT,
Ragged School Union.

WILLIAM WILLIAMS,
National Refuges and Training Ships.

GEORGE HOLLAND,
George Yard Ragged School.

J. M. WEYLLAND,
London City Mission.

REPRESENTATIVE COMMITTEE.

MR. GEORGE WILLIAMS, *Chairman.*
BARONESS BURDETT-COUTTS.
MR. JOSEPH G. GENT.
MR. H. R. WILLIAMS.
MR. WM. WILLIAMS.
MR. E. J. KENNEDY.
MR. J. P. GENT.
GENERAL DAVIDSON.
REV. JOHN SHARP, M.A.
MR. W. J. ORSMAN.
MR. J. M. WEYLLAND.
REV. PREBENDARY BILLING, B.A.
MR. RICHARD TURNER.
MR. R. J. CURTIS.

MR. JOHN KIRK, *Hon. Secretary.*

British and Foreign Bible Society.
Ragged School Union.
London City Mission.
Religious Tract Society.
National Refuges and Training Ships.
Young Men's Christian Association.
Church Missionary Society.
Church Pastoral Aid Society.

London Missionary Society.
Baptist Missionary Society.
Wesleyan Missionary Society.
Reformatory and Refuge Union.
Field Lane Ragged Schools and Refuges.
Dr. Barnardo's Homes.
Sunday School Union.
Church of England Sunday School Institute.
Hoxton Costers' Mission.
Factory Workers of Bradford.
Manchester City Mission and Ragged Schools.
Colonial and Continental Church Society.
London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews.
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.
Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
Band of Hope Union.
Theatre and Special Services Committee.
Pure Literature Society.
Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.
Army Scripture Readers' Society.
Ragged Church and Chapel Union.
Open-Air Mission.
Christian Vernacular Society for India.
King Edward Ragged School.
Indigent Blind Visiting Society.
St. Giles's Prison Mission.
One Tun Ragged School.
Monthly Tract Society.
Female Preventive Institution.
Gravesend Ragged School.
Cab Drivers' Benevolent Association.
Tower Hamlets Mission.
Church of England Young Men's Society.
Mildmay Missions.
Cabmen's Shelter Fund.
Dove Row Ragged School.
Waldensian Missions.
George Yard Ragged School.
Saffron Hill Italian Missions.
Gifford Hall Mission.
St. James's Home for Female Inebriates.
Christian Community.
Exeter Buildings Ragged School.
Rescue Society.
Society for Suppression of the Opium Trade.
Royal Hospital for Diseases of the Chest.
Surgical Aid Society.
Thames Church Mission.
Holloway Ragged School.
London Anti-Vivisection Society.
Shoeblack Societies and Brigades.
Miss Rye's Homes.
Miss Macpherson's Refuges.
Aged Pilgrims' Friend Society.
British Orphan Asylum.
Young Men's Christian Association, Aldersgate Street.
Homes for Working Boys.
Mrs. Meredith's Institutions.
Destitute Children's Dinner Society.
Lambeth Ragged School.
China Inland Mission.
Richmond Street Mission and Ragged Schools.
Fox Court Ragged School.
Home for Little Boys.
London Bible Women's Mission.
Lamb and Flag Ragged School.
Lord's Day Observance Society.
Protestant Alliance.
Church of England Scripture Readers' Association.
Church of England Young Men's Society.
Young Men's Christian Association, Priory, Islington.
Christian Evidence Society.
Society for the Improvement of the Condition of the Labouring Classes.
Working Men's Lord's Day Rest Association.
Flower Girls' Mission.
United Kingdom Alliance.
Hospital Sunday Fund.
Hospital Saturday Fund.

Columbia Market and other Costers' Clubs.
Hospital for Women.
Samaritan Hospital for Women.
Anti-Slavery Society.
Evangelization Society.
Social Science Association.
Horseferry Road Ragged School.
Orphan Working School.
Boys' Home, Wandsworth.
London Aged Christians' Society.
Webber Row Ragged School.
East London Protestant Defence Association.
Homes for Inebriates.
Curates' Augmentation Fund.
Latymer Road Mission.
Stephen the Yeoman Ragged School.
Rosemary Hall Mission.
Polytechnic Institution.
Richmond Street Refuge, Notting Hill.
Nichol Street Ragged School.
Indian Female Normal School Society.
Turkish Missions' Aid Society.
North London Home for Blind Christian Women.
Church Association.
Nelson Street Ragged School and Mission.
Cripples' Home.
Children's Special Service Mission.
Copenhagan Street Industrial School.
Infant Orphan Asylum.
Royal Hospital for Incurables.
Reedham Asylum.
Young Men's Christian Association, Burlington Hall.
Watford Orphan Asylum.
London Female Penitentiary.
Normal College for the Blind.
Royal National Life-Boat Institution.
Dreadnought Hospital for Seamen.
Missions to Seamen.
Soldiers' Daughters' Home.
Book Society.
Evangelistic Mission.
International Peace Association.
St. George the Martyr Mission.
King Edward Industrial Schools.
Mr. Peache's Church Training College, Highbury.
Paris City Mission.
Tonic Sol-Fa College.
Dean Close's Memorial School, Cheltenham.
South London Association for Assisting the Blind.
London Presbytery Church of England.
Earlswood Asylum.
Friend of Clergy Corporation.
Corporation of Sons of Clergy.
Young Men's Christian Association, Stafford Rooms.
Congregational School at Caterham.
Stockwell Orphanage.
British Asylum for Deaf and Dumb.
Royal Association in Aid of Deaf and Dumb.
Female Orphan Home.
Society for Widows of Medical Men.
Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society.
Sailors' Welcome Home.
Provident Surgical Appliance Society.
National Cripple Boys' Home.
Boys' Industrial Home, Forest Hill.
Home for Consumptive Girls.
Ashley Mission, Bethnal Green.
Newport Market Industrial School.
Gordon Memorial Fund for the Benefit of Poor Children.
The Gordon Boys' Home.
Missions to French in London.
Metropolitan Drinking Fountain Association.
Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.
Westminster Flower Show.
Gray's Yard Ragged School.
Ogle Mews Ragged School.
National Temperance League.
Irish Church Missions.
Irish Scripture Readers' Society.
Irish Society.
Railway Mission.

Blue Ribbon Gospel Temperance Movement.
Freedmen's Missions Aid Society.
Birmingham Town Mission.
Victoria Street Society for the Suppression of Vivisection.
Wesleyan Methodist Lord's Day Observance Society.
Female Mission to the Fallen.
Artizans, Labourers, and General Dwellings' Company.
Society for Promoting Female Education in the East.
Young Women's Christian Association.
South American Missionary Society.
Early Closing Association.
Saturday Half-Holiday Movement.
The Needle-Women's Society.
Society for Promoting the Employment of Women.
Romsey Corporation Charity.
Society for the Relief of Persecuted Jews.
Home Teaching Society for the Blind.
Railway Officers' and Servants' Association.
"Bruey" Association of "Irish Society."
Juvenile Sunday Union.
Young Men's Christian Association, Gracechurch Street.
&c. &c. &c.

DEPUTATIONS OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PERSONS REPRESENTING THE FOLLOWING INSTITUTIONS:

Chichester and *Arethusa* Training Ships.
Girls' Home; Ealing and Sudbury National Homes.
Shoeblacks: Central Reds.
King Edward Industrial Schools.
Field Lane Industrial Schools.
Flower Girls' Mission.
Cripples' Home.
Home for Little Boys.
George Yard Ragged Schools.
King Edward Ragged Schools.
One Tun Ragged School.
Costermongers' Societies and Clubs.

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